

# **Afrikaans on the Cape Flats: Performing cultural linguistic identity in *Afrikaaps***

Jade Schuster



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Supervisor: Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp  
Co-supervisor: Dr Frenette Southwood  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences  
Department of General Linguistics

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## **DECLARATION**

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March 2016

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Kaaps and how speakers use this linguistic variety to demonstrate or perform various aspects of their identities. The theories of Butler (1990) and Pennycook (2004) are used to investigate how language is used to perform identity. Using transcripts of the *Afrikaaps* theatre production and an interview with an *Afrikaaps* performer, Emile Jansen (also known as Emile YX?), the themes of self-knowledge as opposed to shame within the Coloured community are investigated. Also pertinent to this discussion are the themes of hybridity and marginality. Furthermore, the theatre production's emphasis on the legalisation of Kaaps is further explored in this thesis. A discussion of the methodology and data collection instruments follows. Thematic analysis is used to analyse the various narratives raised. Thereafter, the efficacy of Kaaps to instigate new conversations about the language variety as a site for identity creation is discussed. This is done by evaluating Kaaps based on the critique of the 1985 Black Writer's Symposium's offered by Richard Rive. The conclusion notes the limits of time and space in this particular project. It underscores the ground-breaking role *Afrikaaps* played in changing perceptions on the black or creole (or both) origins of Afrikaans and the role it played in inspiring pride in Kaaps speakers.

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis ondersoek Kaaps en hoe sprekers hierdie taalvariëteit gebruik om verskeie aspekte van hulle identiteite ten toon te stel en uitdrukking daaraan te gee. Die teorieë van Butler (1990) en Pennycook (2004) word gebruik om vas te stel hoe taal gebruik word in die performatiwiteit van identiteit. Deur gebruik te maak van transkripsies van die *Afrikaaps*-verhoogproduksie en 'n onderhoud met 'n *Afrikaaps*-kunstenaar, Emile Jansen (ook bekend as Emile YX?), word die temas selfkennis in teenstelling met skaamte in die bruin gemeenskap ondersoek. Ander prominente temas in hierdie bespreking is dié van hibriditeit en marginaliteit. Die verhoogproduksie se fokus op die wettigmaking van Kaaps word ook verder bespreek. 'n Bespreking van die metodologie en data-insamelingsmetodes volg. Tematiese analise is gebruik om die verskeie narratiewe te analiseer. Laastens volg 'n bespreking oor die vermoë van Kaaps om nuwe gesprekke oor taalvariasie as 'n ruimte vir identiteitskonstruksie te inspireer. Hierdie bespreking is gegrond op die evaluering van Kaaps en die kritiek van die 1985 Swart Skrywer-simposium gelewer deur Richard Rive. In die gevolgtrekking word die spesifieke tekortkominge van die tesis bespreek, veral dié wat met tyd en ruimte te make het. Dit beklemtoon die baanbrekersrol wat *Afrikaaps* gespeel het in die verandering van persepsies oor die swart of kreool-oorsprong (of beide) van Afrikaans en die rol wat die produksie gespeel het in die bevordering van trots in Kaapssprekers.



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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction and background to the study

### 1.1 Background/rationale of the study

Teaching dance for nine years, and performing for at least twice as many in Athlone at one of the oldest performing arts schools in the country, opened my eyes to various cultural phenomena within my community. The Eoan Group Cultural Centre was started in District Six predominantly for the education of the Coloured<sup>1</sup> community in various art forms. Recently, Stellenbosch University conducted an audit of its entire musical repertoire as a way of preserving part of South Africa's cultural heritage, showing the historical importance of this centre. My occupation as a dance teacher at the Eoan Group led me to pay close attention to language. Together with movements, language is the main tool I used to communicate with my students. I observed that I and my students and fellow staff members continually code-switch between English and Afrikaans, or use Kaaps, a form of Afrikaans that is seen as a particular social and regional variety. The realisation that code-switching and my use of Kaaps in the classroom was part of my teaching style – that is, Kaaps was part of who I was as a teacher and participant in the world – was so reinforced at this point that I was extremely interested in participating in a formal study of my language use. Having grown up in a household where English and Afrikaans were used interchangeably, I started noticing for example that Afrikaans, amongst its many other uses, was sometimes used to *skel* ('scold') children and at other times to *skinder* ('gossip') so that the adults' heavy Kaaps may be indecipherable to any eavesdropping children close by. While at high school, I noticed that my pronunciation and use of grammar were different to the standard Afrikaans we were required to master for formal school purposes. I was curious as to the knowledge I had rather unknowingly developed that my home pronunciation would not be as useful or well-regarded in more formal business environments as Standard Afrikaans pronunciation would. These differences in Afrikaans had always piqued my interest and would often spill over in my discussions with friends and family at various stages of my life.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Deumert (2005:130), "Coloured ethnicity as constructed by the colonial administrators and implemented e.g. in the census categories from the mid-1800s was extremely heterogeneous, including not only the descendants of the ethnically diverse slave population, but also the indigenous Khoe as well as everyone who could not be classified unambiguously as being either black (African) or white." The term "Coloured" is heavily contested but is still used as a form of self-identification or by government or other official bodies.

Fortunately towards the end of 2010, as my interest in language seemed heightened, the stage production *Afrikaaps* was shown for the first time at the Baxter Theatre in Cape Town. This production provided a much needed spotlight on the position of Afrikaans within the Black communities of South Africa. As was the case for many people within the Cape Coloured community, it caused me to question why I spoke a certain way, why certain connotations were attached to people speaking my particular variety as opposed to others, what that indicated about the way people felt about themselves, why this variety was so different from the standard Afrikaans we had learned at school and knew to be “proper Afrikaans”. It gave me the knowledge that had always been alluded to: that Black and Coloured people had been contributors to the development of Afrikaans. Simultaneously, it instilled pride in the differences between Kaaps and what was seen as the rigidity of *suiwer* (‘pure’) or standard Afrikaans. It brought a consciousness to the ability of its multiracial speakers to innovate and create within the dialect of Kaaps.

*Afrikaaps* was produced in 2010 by a group of poets, musicians, rap and spoken-word artists, and filmmakers from the Western Cape province of South Africa. Under the guidance of Catherine Henegan, *Afrikaaps* director, the group members themselves created and combined the elements of music and texts. Her original idea for the production was to put together a cohesive, mutual or collective and natural project. While she began her research at the beginning of 2009, two elements impressed the director: firstly, the current awareness of both the self and its social struggles within the Afrikaans hip-hop movement that was born on the Cape Flats during the 1980s and has flourished over the past two decades; secondly, the fact that little was known about the full history of Afrikaans, which was something that could have great consequences for all mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans (see Henegan in Appendix B).

The show premiered at an annual Afrikaans cultural festival, *Die Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees* (‘The Little Karoo National Arts Festival’). It then had a three-week run at the Baxter Theatre, located in a predominantly White, English-speaking part of Cape Town (Becker and Oliphant 2014:1). The production, or “Hip Hopera” as it was labelled at the time, had different sets of performances in South Africa and the Netherlands. The *Afrikaaps* cast has continued to evolve during performances in different places: during a tour to the Netherlands in September and October 2011, performances took place in seven Dutch cities including Rotterdam, Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, and Amersfoort (Becker and Oliphant 2014:8). In the Netherlands, the show was presented in a reworked format and incorporated

Dutch Hip Hop artists Def P (“Nederhop” pioneers) and Akwasi Ansah of Zwart Licht. The documentary by Cape Town filmmaker, Dylan Valley, forms an integral part of the theatre performance as it plays as a mixed media addition to the music, dancing, lighting, acting and spoken word aspects of the performance. Valley’s (2010) film follows this group of local artists creating the stage production as they trace the roots of Afrikaans to Khoi-San and slaves in the Cape (Becker and Oliphant 2014:1). The production aimed to “reclaim and liberate Afrikaans from its reputation as the language of the oppressor, taking it back for all who speak it” (see Valley in Appendix B).

The cast includes musician Kyle Shepherd. Regarded as one of Cape Town’s foremost young jazz composers and pianists, he is “a likely successor to Abdullah Ibrahim”, opines Thamm (2010). Spoken-word and Hip Hop artists Emile Jansen (also known as Emile YX?) and Janine van Rooy (also known as Blaq Pearl) add R&B flavour as well as rap and jazz to the genres of music. Emile YX? is one of the originators of Hip Hop culture in South Africa and Blaq Pearl, the young female poet, is the little sister of the late and great emcee Mr Devious (another South African Hip Hop pioneer who amongst others toured as guest artist with 1980s breakout band Prophets of da City). BBoy and metaphysical poet Charl van der Westhuizen, or Bliksemstraal (‘Lightning Bolt’) as he is also known, is well-known in Cape Town Hip Hop circles. Added to these is Moenier, also known as Monox, Adams. He brings the Malay choir and *Klopse*<sup>2</sup> influence, having practised these traditions since primary school. Accomplished electric and double bass player, Shane Cooper, offers his talents to the group as a composer and producer. Then Quintin Goliath (also known as Jitsvinger), a rapper, emcee and social activist, offers his flair. In her review, Thamm (2010) states that “poet, sculptor, storyteller and activist Jethrow Louw has been a major influence in the recent revival and celebration of Khoi culture”. Finally, Ian Kerkhof (also known as Aryan Kaganof), a filmmaker, novelist and poet, was the researcher for the project.

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<sup>2</sup> The *Klopse* (‘Clubs’), as they became known, or *Kaapse Klopse* (‘Clubs of the Cape’) were minstrel troupes of former slaves, who performed musical interludes and songs as they marched in the streets of Cape Town on New Year’s Eve and attempted to differentiate themselves from other clubs by their costumes, and the colours they wore. These clubs date back as early as 1685 and were the predecessors of the carnival troupes that were going to multiply in the 20th century and continue this satirical music tradition. “But the earliest reference to what could have been a creole song, the possible ancestor of the *ghoemaliedjies* that were to blossom later, relates to ‘[...] a certain “Biron” who was punished in 1707 for singing dubious ditties “half in Malay, half in Dutch” in the streets of Cape Town [...]’ (Winberg ca. 1992:78)” (Martin 2013:74). While the Malay choir stems from descendants and carriers on of the so-called Cape Malays in the 1840s, who “[...] on moonlight nights, and in warm weather, will whistle and sing in concert about the streets, linked in brotherly affection, with arms around each other’s necks, and a small fry in the rear, endeavouring to mimic harmony [...]’ (Bouws 1966a: 141)” (Martin 2013:79).

The cast, at various stages and via different means, combine musical compositions, short sketches or outright toyi-toying with the “LEGALIZE AFRIKAAPS” banners on stage, thereby drawing the audience’s and onlookers’ attention back to the heart of Kaaps as a mixed creation that belongs as much to Afrikaners as to every other South African. Having witnessed the great uniting and consciousness-building effects of the *Afrikaaps* movement (as it inspired Facebook discussion groups and school outreaches, with performers travelling across the Western and Northern Cape to meet with high school learners and communities, all imparting their knowledge and experience of living through Kaaps), I continued to notice the influence and sense of connection people felt in being able to relate in Kaaps whether it in a personal or professional setting. I also noticed how the variety was viewed by its speakers and non-speakers: it was deemed inappropriate by some for business transactions depending on the location and type of business conducted, but fine in a familial setting. I observed, in one position I held, how Coloured management choices to employ Kaaps in an office of diverse racial representation in some ways alienated staff, while in other ways seemed to unify them. And then there was always the tag of being “*Gam*” (‘a child of Ham’<sup>3</sup>) or “talking Capey”, both diminutions of the character of the speakers of Kaaps. Yet every year without fail, I found myself beaming with pride at the African Hip Hop Indaba when youths from townships across the Western Cape spat rhymes using isiXhosa, Kaaps, Sabela, English, and a litany of other languages. I eagerly awaited the latest *Klopse* tunes in which people would display their opinions on the year’s political foibles so cleverly adapted to the latest chart-topping song to fool audiences into singing along to the newly rewritten lyrics.

My exposure to Kaaps in several spheres of life spurred my interest to learn how individuals perform their identities, specifically within the context of a staged performance. This personal interest and experience thus led to the academic investigation of the construction of identity through Kaaps in the stage performance, *Afrikaaps*.

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<sup>3</sup> “Gam” is a reference to Ham or the children of Ham in the Bible. Ham gained notoriety as the son Noah cursed because Ham saw Noah naked in a drunken stupor. When Ham informed his brothers, Shem and Japheth, of their father’s predicament, they averted their eyes and walked backwards to cover their father with a robe. Noah, once he awoke from the stupor, cursed Ham (the father of Canaan). “May Canaan be cursed! May he be the lowest of servants to his relatives” (Genesis 9:18-28, The Holy Bible: Living Translation 2010). It “recalls a myth popular with white supremacists who traced the genealogy of blackness to the Biblical figure Ham” and used it as justification for the subjugation of races (Devarenne 2014:399). Hence the connotation of “Gam” or “Capey” as a forgotten or cast-out brand of Afrikaans spoken in Cape Town. This will be discussed in further depth in Chapter 5.

## 1.2 Research questions

This study investigates how identities are constructed and performed in the stage production *Afrikaaps* through the use of language. It also investigates how the performer Emile YX?, in a language biographic interview, constructs his own identities in relation to the stage performance. I am particularly interested in the role of Kaaps as a means of constructing and performing these identities.

The main research questions for consideration in this investigation are the following:

- i) How are identities constructed and performed in the stage production of *Afrikaaps* through language, specifically?
- ii) How does the performer view or construct his/her own identities in relation to the stage performance?
- iii) What role does Kaaps, as a variety, play in these identity constructions?

## 1.3 Aims

The research aims are as follows:

- i) To investigate the use of language (specifically Kaaps) as a means of performing and constructing identity in the stage performance *Afrikaaps*;
- ii) To investigate how one of the performers constructs his identity in relation to his stage performance of *Afrikaaps*.

## 1.4 Theoretical point of departure

Language and identity have been an important sociolinguistic issue. One of the first studies that investigated the relationship between language and identity was Labov's (1966, in Bauman 2011:708) classic study that tried to link phonological variation with social class. Language and identity are subsequently also important theoretical concepts in this thesis. However, I will not look at identity in the same way as early studies such as that of Labov (1966, in Bauman 2011:708). Increasingly, identities are believed not only to be reflected by language, but also to be constructed, and it is with this work that I will engage. I will draw on the work of Butler (1990), who alerted researchers to the performative aspect of language, particularly in terms of sexuality. She understood gender to be the repeated stylisation of the



body, that is, “a set of repeated acts within a highly regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of a substance, of a natural sort of being” (Butler 1990, in Pennycook 2004:8). Pennycook (2004) takes this notion further by suggesting that identities are formed within the linguistic performance. The work of Bell and Gibson (2011) will inform my understanding of the sociolinguistics of performance.

I will also discuss the place of a variety such as Kaaps within a language, and delve into the sociolinguistic history and current sociolinguistic position of Kaaps.

## 1.5 Methodology

Two primary forms of data collection were used. Firstly, data was collected by means of a language biographic interview with performer Emile Jansen, also known as MC Emile YX?. The performer’s experiences were gleaned by posing open-ended questions. These allowed the performer to discuss his experience with Kaaps. The aspects that are focused on are schooling, community, family life, travel, and how he was perceived by others (insiders and outsiders of their respective communities). Secondly, the multimodal recordings of the *Afrikaaps* production were also analysed to see how identity through and in language was constructed.

The data was analysed through thematic analysis. Burnard (1991) offers thematic analysis as a method of analysing interview transcripts in qualitative research. The steps to thematic analysis set out by Braun and Clarke (2006) were useful in the analysis.

The following themes were prevalent during the interview and the analysis of the performance. These themes are used to investigate which identity options are afforded to the use of Kaaps both in the stage production and in the interview of the performer.

- i) Re-entrenchment – the idea that with every performance you have the chance to influence more people, and solidify a different image of yourself.
- ii) The Hip Hop principle of self-worth is juxtaposed with pathological Coloured shame.
- iii) Hybridity and marginality – pertaining to constantly being on the fringe of society and yet part of it.

These themes are discussed more extensively in the data analysis chapter of this thesis.

## **1.6 Chapter outline**

In Chapter 2, an overview of the relevant literature on related studies on Kaaps is provided. The theoretical framework applied in this study is explained in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 discusses the methodology used for this thesis. Data collected and an analysis thereof is presented in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 draws various conclusions from the data collection and analysis with due regard to the relevant literature and theoretical framework discussed.

## CHAPTER 2

### A sociolinguistic perspective of Kaaps

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss Kaaps as a social and regional linguistic variety. The discussion will be situated within a sociolinguistic paradigm, in other words, the social functions and characteristics of Kaaps rather than the linguistic features will be the main focus. Here, Kaaps refers specifically to the variety of language spoken by Coloured speakers who reside in the Cape Metropole area. A number of definitions of Kaaps exist, but the definition provided by Blignaut (2014) will be followed. According to Blignaut (2014:45), Kaaps is a variety of Afrikaans that is geographically limited to the Cape Peninsula and its surrounding neighbourhoods. It is a colloquial language that is historically bound to the Bo-Kaap and District Six areas of Cape Town where people of mixed racial descent have lived for over a century in close contact and association with diverse groups of people conducting trade, religious ceremonies and life in general in this variety. This is where Kaaps has taken on certain characteristics that today can be claimed as own to the variety. As a result of the Group Areas Act and with the passing of time, Kaaps has spread over the Cape Flats region<sup>4</sup> (Blignaut 2014:45). In my opinion, this definition of Kaaps is most useful since it encapsulates sufficient historical and geographical information along with reference to race and the use Kaaps has within its speech community.

This chapter will be organised in the following way: First, literature on the position of Kaaps in relation to other varieties of Afrikaans will be discussed, which means that some history of Afrikaans will also be given. The discussion will then move onto the linguistic features of Kaaps. Finally, the socio-cultural aspects of Kaaps will be considered within the context of a multilingual South African society.

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<sup>4</sup> The Cape Flats is an expansive, low-lying area of Cape Town situated to the southeast of the central business district. It lies in between the neighbourhoods of Zeekoevlei to the south and Claremont or Wetton to the north. The Hottentots Holland mountain range and the interior Boland farming area are to the east of the Cape Flats. The Cape Flats (often called “The Flats” by Capetonians) is known for its sandy soil quality. In the 1950s it became what is called by some “Apartheid’s dumping ground” for people of colour who could no longer live in the so-called “white areas” due to the passing of the Group Areas Act, Immorality Act, and Separate Amenities Act.

## 2.2 Kaaps and its position in relation to other varieties of Afrikaans

It is important to remember that no language is used consistently and uniformly by all of its speakers over time, and therefore modern linguistic studies recognise that variation within a particular language is possible. “The variations that exist within a language are fed by differing social, cultural, geographical, situational and psychological contexts” (Blignaut 2014:20). As speakers of a language comprise a multitude of subcultures from various geographical areas, social groups and so on, their utilisation of the language will also differ to varying degrees. This difference in language use is known as language variation (see Blignaut 2014:22). Du Plessis (1988:10, in Blignaut 2014:22) defines a language variety as “a patterned system of linguistic items with corresponding social and/or geographical distribution”. Linguistic varieties encompass differences in lexicon, pronunciation, syntax, pragmatics, etc. Thus, depending on location and/or social context, different people would subsequently employ a specific language differently.

It is that same twofold function of the linguistic system – its function both as expression of and metaphor for social processes – that lies behind the dynamics of the interrelation of language and social context (Stone 1995:286). Therefore, a language is the sum of all its varieties. Holmes (1992:207, cited in Blignaut 2014:23) draws attention to the fact that all language varieties are equal and there is no noteworthy difference in the complexity of their linguistic structure. This equal valuation also applies to all varieties of Afrikaans and, based on this, no variety of Afrikaans should be labelled as inferior; rather, it should be recognised as a full variety that belongs to Afrikaans as a whole. Even though most linguistic studies today take this equal-levelled approach to language varieties, varieties receive the status that their speakers (or others) impart to it. And so, regardless of the fact that varieties have equal linguistic status, Holmes (1992:207 cited in Blignaut 2014:23) acknowledges that it would be possible for certain varieties to develop unequal statuses based on the ethnic and social statuses of their speakers.

Geographically, three varieties of Afrikaans are usually distinguished in South Africa, namely the south-western Cape Afrikaans or Kaaps, *Oosgrensafrikaans* (‘Eastern border Afrikaans’), and north-western or *Oranjerivierafrikaans* (‘Orange River Afrikaans’). Grebe (1999:52, in Blignaut 2014:240) notes that whereas these three are the main geographical dialect forms, one should not assume an inherent heterogeneity since sub-varieties occur within each of these geo-historical varieties. *Oosgrensafrikaans* became the dialect with the

widest geographic range by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and formed the base for Standard Afrikaans (McCormick 2006:96). This is due to the fact that it constituted the language of the first so-called *vryburgers* ('free citizens') or citizens of the regions outside of what was then known as the Cape Colony.

It is interesting to note that, in comparison with other non-standard varieties of Afrikaans, Kaaps is generally seen as the dialect that presents the most literary works (Coetzee 2005:36, in Saal and Blignaut 2011:348). Adam Small brought a shapeless renewal to Afrikaans poetry and drama with his use of Kaaps in the collection *Kitaar My Kruis* ('Guitar My Cross') and the drama *Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe* ('Kanna He's Coming Home') (Olivier 1999:573 and Van Wyk 2006:5, in Saal and Blignaut 2011:348). This was so vastly different to the previous uses of Kaaps as a non-standard variety for humoristic and caricaturing (and hence demeaning) effect as exemplified by the poem by Kaatje Kekkelbek (see Mesthrie 1993:55 for a complete analysis). Small (1987:83-84) argued for the use of Kaaps in the following manner:<sup>5</sup>

I just want to say, by way of repetition (because I had to, after the appearance of *Guitar my Cross*, bring it to attention several times already), that Kaaps is not what certain English people in South Africa call Capey, and it is also not what certain Afrikaans people call Gam language. Kaaps is a language, a language in the sense that it bears the complete lot and plight of the people who speak it; the full burden, their whole lives "with everything that is therein"; a language in the sense that the people who speak it, scream the first scream of their lives in this language, all transactions of their lives are concluded in this language, and their last sounds are struggled out in this language. Kaaps is not jocular or comedy, but a language. By experience I know how fitting it is to bring the reader or listener's attention and awareness to the fact that we have to do here with a language.

Saal and Blignaut (2011:348) suggests that Small placed Kaaps in the foreground and again raised a greater awareness for the oldest non-standard variety of Afrikaans. His use of Kaaps focuses the reader's awareness on the effective articulation of the political and socio-economic situation faced by Coloured working-class people, thus steering them away from

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<sup>5</sup> I translated this quote verbatim as appeared in Small (1987, reprint of the 1961 *Kitaar My Kruis*). The Afrikaans read as follows: *Ek wil net sê, by herhaling (want ek moes dit, na die verskyning van Kitar My Kruis, meermale reeds onder die aandag bring), dat Kaaps nie is wat sekere Engelse mense in Suid Africa Capey noem nie, en ook nie wat sekere Afrikaanse mense Gamat-taal noem nie. Kaaps is 'n taal, 'n taal in die sin dat dit die volle lot en noodlot van die mense wat dit praat, dra; die volle lot, hulle volle lewe "met alles wat daarin is"; 'n taal in die sin dat die mense wat dit praat, hul eerste skreeu in die lewe skreeu in hierdie taal, al die transaksies van hul lewens beklank in hierdie taal, en hul doodsgroet roggel in hierdie taal. Kaaps is nie 'n grappigheid of snaaksigheid nie, maar 'n taal. Uit ervaring weet ek hoe van pas dit is om die leser of aanhoorder van hierdie gedigte attent te maak op die feit dat ons hier met 'n taal te doen het.*

caricatured, humoristic prior uses of Kaaps in literature. Kaaps thus became not only a spoken variety but also a respected written variety with increasing literary possibilities.

Webb (1989:414) suggests that the varieties of Afrikaans can be distinguished on a concrete level and an abstract level. On a concrete level, variation in Afrikaans is not limited to changes in grammar alone, but affects every aspect of the language including (but not limited to) the pronunciation of certain sounds, the presence or absence of nasalisation, the addition of consonants, morphology (especially in plural forms), syntax, the possessive form and the lexicon. A linguist would approach the study of a variety of Afrikaans on an abstract level, that is, by observing the presence of certain linguistic variables and contrasting it with that of other linguistic varieties. The phonological and morphosyntactic features of Kaaps are discussed below and add to the understanding of Kaaps as a variety of Afrikaans. A variety of a language comes into existence because the variables identified at the concrete level, along with the abstract linguistic variables, are associated with a particular group (in the case of Kaaps, Coloured speakers) for a specific situation, or a specific activity.

Of course, Afrikaans is a living language, hence it is constantly evolving. According to Webb (1989:417), Afrikaans is by nature varying. So, even if it had not come into contact with other languages, its rules and units would still be open to change. In order to better understand the reasons for varieties of Afrikaans, it is necessary to briefly discuss the history of the development of Afrikaans, which I do below. In the following subsections, further discussion will also be given to the standardisation of Afrikaans as well as the regional and social varieties of Afrikaans before the socio-cultural aspects of Kaaps are discussed.

Afrikaans is primarily based on Dutch. The first visitors to the Cape spoke a range of dialects as they came from different places within the Netherlands. These people also performed different occupations and lived in different conditions; so, to begin with, Afrikaans embraced the many different dialects of Dutch present in the Cape (Webb 1989:417). Another reason for the vast varieties of Afrikaans is its development alongside other languages like “those of the indigenous Khoekhoe, West German dialects, French, and more than a dozen languages brought by slaves from India, Southeast Asia, West and East Africa. Among them were two *lingua francas*, Creole Portuguese and Malay” (McCormick 2006:92). These speakers gradually began using Afrikaans based on the grammar of their first language and added or borrowed words from their respective languages when an Afrikaans alternative was unknown or did not exist. As a result, varieties of Afrikaans came into existence.

Ironically, it was during the period of British colonial rule (1814 to 1910) that a greater variety of texts in standard Dutch became available. An increasing number of newspapers, magazines, and books were published in standard Dutch in South Africa (McCormick 2006:99). As McCormick points out, in 1877 the *Bayaan-ud-diyn*, an important Islamic text, was written by Abubakr Effendi in Arabic Afrikaans. He used an Arabic orthography to mimic the sounds of Afrikaans in order to publish it for Afrikaans-speaking Muslims to appreciate (Van Rensburg et al. 1997:16, in McCormick 2006:97).

At the inception of the Union of South Africa in 1910, eight years after the end of the Anglo-Boer War, Dutch was made a co-official language with English throughout South Africa. According to Kamwangamalu (2000:279), this “not only brought about political alliance between the British and Afrikaners, established the principle of racism as fundamental to White South African law, and precluded the majority of South Africa’s population from political participation; but it also turned South Africa into a de facto bilingual state, with English and Afrikaans (in that diglossic order)”.

McCormick (2006:99) explains that “in 1909 the Zuid Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst (that is, The South African Academy for Language, Letters and Arts) was founded to further the standardization of what could no longer be referred to as Dutch since it varied so significantly from European Dutch”. By 1914, Afrikaans was recognised as the medium of instruction in schools, and by 1925 the status of Afrikaans was raised so that it was equal with that of English, and the two were made the official languages of the state (McCormick 2006:99). White racial domination promoted mainly White Afrikaans varieties. This domination reached its peak during the Apartheid years when the Afrikaner Nationalist Party took governance of South Africa from 1948 to 1994. Its main goal was to entrench a system of racial segregation of South Africans, the majority of whom constituted the Black population.

The new government had several means at its disposal to ensure that this system took effect. Through the years it relied heavily on legislation to enforce segregation throughout the country and the Bantustans.<sup>6</sup> One such law was the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which made Afrikaans compulsory for all students to study, and in 1955, it became the medium of instruction for certain subjects. Kamwangamalu (2000:282) argues that the reason for this

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<sup>6</sup> According to McCormick (2006:108), “as a key feature of the apartheid scheme, areas were set aside as the only places where blacks would be offered a measure of self-government [and be able to own land]. These were known as ‘Bantustans’ or ‘homelands’”.

Act of 1953 was threefold: firstly, to promote Afrikaans and thus reduce the influence of English in Black schools; secondly, to impose upon Black students the use of both English and Afrikaans as the media of instruction; and finally, to extend mother-tongue education from Grade 4 to Grade 8. McCormick (2006:100) reports that, according to “a circuit inspector, it was the taxes of English- and Afrikaans-speaking schools that paid for the education of Black students outside the homelands, and that the secretary for Bantu Education had to satisfy these two groups”.

The main reason for the shift towards Black proficiency in Afrikaans can be summed up by the following quote from Wilkins and Strydom (1978:230, in McCormick 2006:101; note the italics are the author’s emphasis, not my own): “Let the Bantu understand in all circumstances that Afrikaans is the language of *most* whites and also the *most important* whites”. It was not only to ensure the economic efficiency of Afrikaner business proprietors from their Black workers, but also to psychologically subjugate the Black majority through the simplest, most common act of communication.

The attempt by the government to enforce the Bantu Education Act, and the growing resentment of the constant use of Afrikaans in all environments, led to the violent Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976. McCormick (2006:101) notes that “for many South Africans standard Afrikaans was primarily experienced as a language of control and exclusion”. Standard Afrikaans thus became known as the language of oppression in spite of the fact that there were speakers of all varieties of Afrikaans among the prominent opposers of Apartheid. English, therefore, was increasingly seen as the language of advancement and access. So, although the Apartheid education system, and its vast practices and policies, created a large number of second-language Afrikaans users, it paradoxically inhibited the growth of a vibrant secondary Afrikaans speech community due to its racist nature (Ponelis 1993:60, in McCormick 2006).

By 1990, the Nationalist government, due to increased levels of violence within South Africa and growing (mainly economic) international pressure, unbanned the liberation movements. This led to widespread fears among Afrikaans speakers that their language would be under attack in a post-Apartheid government. In discussions concerning language policy options, two claims were made in defence of Afrikaans. Firstly, most of the native speakers of Afrikaans were Coloured people who had been oppressed by the Apartheid regime. Therefore, the idea of Afrikaans as the language of oppression or the language of the



oppressor was challenged, as it was clearly also the language of the oppressed. Secondly, it was contended that Afrikaans existed as a lingua franca across the nation. Demographic information was presented demonstrating that more people used Afrikaans than English and that, geographically, the language was more widespread than any other (McCormick 2006:105). It was suggested that Afrikaans could be used as a lingua franca in creating the new social fabric of South Africa. After much negotiation, Afrikaans was retained as one of 11 national official languages within the new South African political dispensation.

Today, English governs most of public life although all 11 official languages are meant to enjoy equal status. Afrikaans with its 6 855 082 mother tongue speakers is the third most common language in South Africa, spoken by 13.5% of the population.<sup>7</sup> Different varieties of Afrikaans are heard on the radio and television due to the South African Broadcasting Corporation's language policy on promoting shared languages or lingua francas. Thus non-standard Afrikaans and code-switching to non-standard Afrikaans feature in advertisements and programmes, a number of which are multilingual (McCormick 2006:106).

### 2.3 The linguistic features of Kaaps

As the main focus of my study is the socio-cultural nature of Kaaps and its use in society, I now briefly discuss the linguistic features of Kaaps that distinguish this variety from other varieties of Afrikaans. Most of the research conducted on Kaaps has been concerned with the phonological features thereof or with the use of code-switching. This discussion is therefore primarily restricted to these two issues.

There are many sounds in Kaaps that bear the social stigmatisation of the non-standard Cape variety that are in contrast to the standard Afrikaans variant. Klopper (1983:87-89) investigates four main sounds that display the difference between Kaaps and Standard Afrikaans. For example, in the case of the word-final or syllable-final /r/, the higher status variant (Standard Afrikaans) would produce a trill sound with the /r/ thus being audible in *waar* ('where'). However, in the stigmatised variant or Kaaps, the /r/ is omitted completely resulting in the pronunciation *waa*. Similarly, the rounded /œi/ sound in the standard

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<sup>7</sup> Most Afrikaans speakers live in the Western Cape, where Afrikaans is the language of just less than half (48.4%) of the province's population. Afrikaans is also common in Gauteng, where 12.2% of the province's population consider it to be their home language. Afrikaans is the dominant language in the Northern Cape, spoken by more than half (53%) of the province's population. The language is spoken by 12.4% of the Free State's population, 10.4% of the people of the Eastern Cape, and 8.8% of the people of North West (SouthAfrica.info 2015).

Afrikaans pronunciation of *huis* ('house')<sup>8</sup> unrounded in the Kaaps pronunciation ([høis]) with the Kaaps pronunciation being closer to the diphthong /əi/ (as in *hay*) in English. Klopper (1983:89) also indicates that whereas /j/ in the higher status Standard Afrikaans is silent<sup>9</sup> in the word *jaar* ('year'), /j/ is produced as an affricate [ʃ], often represented in writing in Kaaps literature as *dj* (as in *djy en djou* ('you and your') vs the standard spelling, *jy en jou*). Finally, Klopper discusses the diminutive marker, of which the standard spelling is *-tjie*, which is pronounced [ci] in the higher status variety. Kaaps pronunciation is obvious in its departure from Standard Afrikaans, pronouncing the diminutive marker with an affricate: [či], so that the word *broodjie* 'small bread' is pronounced [bruici] in Standard Afrikaans and /bruiči/ in Kaaps.

Klopper concludes that the influence of English might be seen an important contributory factor to pronunciation in the stigmatised variety Kaaps with its /r/ omission, vowel unrounding and affricatisation of /j/ and or /k/ in the diminutive morpheme *-tjie* (as represented above), as these pronunciations are similar to those found in English (Klopper 1976:30-35 in Klopper 1983:88). However, since the same traits (with the exception of the affricatised /j/) are found in Whites' use of Kaaps and standard-Afrikaans, this explanation seems more improbable. Rather, it would seem that the reduction of the word-final /r/ is a characteristic of Germanic languages (of which English is one) as Van Loey wrote in 1959 (in Klopper 1983:89). The reason for the affricatised /j/ seems to be a remnant of the Malay influence on Kaaps, as syllable-initial /j/ is pronounced "harder" (i.e. as ʃ), as in *jahe* ('ginger') and *jeruk* ('orange') which are both pronounced with a word-initial [ʃ] (Klopper 1983:89).

The other prominent feature of Kaaps noted in the literature is the large amount of code-mixing with English (Mesthrie 1993:47, McCormick 1995:193). According to Mesthrie (1993:43), code-mixing is a term used to refer to "the use of words and phrases from two different language systems by the same speaker in the same speech event". In spite of a rigid separation of languages and their speakers during the Apartheid years – by the enacting of legislation such as the Bantu Education Act, Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and the Immorality Act – code-mixed forms thrived in the Coloured community (Kamwangamalu 1998:279). (Note that the legislation did not only serve to separate languages but also to

<sup>8</sup> There is no equivalent sound in English, so no English word can serve as example here.

<sup>9</sup> Note that not all would agree with Klopper's description here; in Standard Afrikaans, /j/ is pronounced as [j] in *jaar* ('year'), and [j] is not typically described as "silent".

promote Afrikaans and reduce the influence of English in Black schools across the country; (Kamwangamalu 1998:279).

In District Six, many families were bilingual whereas others remained Afrikaans dominant, and this linguistic situation still exists today. English became the language of aspiration and dissidence. McCormick (1995:203) notes that many parents were second language speakers of English, but encouraged their children to learn Standard English. However, their children inherited their parents' linguistic peculiarities and thus regenerated the mixed code of that area and time in their newly established locations.

Mesthrie (1993:55) refers to the “missing link” between the command of both languages and code-mixing as a rhetorical skill. He illustrates this point using the Kaatje Kekkelbek poem to show the satirical effect of the mixed code. He describes the linguistic situation in the Cape as “diffuse” which is manifested in the code-switching and borrowing between languages (Mesthrie 1993:59) along with language shift.

## **2.4 The socio-cultural dimensions of Kaaps**

It is commonly acknowledged that Kaaps and its speakers have been stigmatised (see Stone 1995, McCormick 2002, Carstens 2011, Saal and Blignaut 2011). Kaaps has been referred to as *Kleurlingafrikaans* (‘Coloured Afrikaans’), *kombuistaal* (‘kitchen language’), *plat taal* (‘flat or base language’), *verbasterde taal* (‘bastardised or hybridised language’), *gamtaal* (‘the language of Ham’), and as the language of the low social classes.

Small effectively used Kaaps as an identity marker in his dramas (Saal and Blignaut 2011:356). In the drama *Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe*, the character Kanna uses Kaaps whenever he wants to identify with people in his community, that is people from the neighbourhood in which he grew up, while he uses Standard Afrikaans to indicate his social distance and heightened social status (Coetzee 2005:41 and Van Wyk 2006:5, in Saal and Blignaut 2011). Just as Small used Kaaps in his works to effect heightened identification with characters, so too can the use of “Teenage Kaaps” in printed advertisements lead to Kaaps-speaking teenagers better associating with the speaker of the advertisement and its message (see Saal and Blignaut 2011:356). In the media, the public opinion of Kaaps is clearly explicated: Kaaps is seen as the language form used by the Coloured (often the implied connotation is uneducated) working class, whereas English and Standard Afrikaans are the language forms of the Coloured middle class (Mitchell 1993:16).

According to Stone (1995:280), Kaaps is often regarded as “wholly oral, informal and parochial”. However, he also confirms that the variety was rendered politically significant when it was first performed during the 1970s in “politically polemic plays” that were “composed... by authors born outside of Cape Town” (Stone 1995:280). This is an important point in the understanding of the Kaaps speech community’s awareness of itself, because at the time “Afrikaner nationalist appropriations of Afrikaans led to an inversion of Kaaps in status, so that it became a dialect spoken by the descendants of the slaves who creolised it, hence it was labelled ‘colloquial’ or ‘colourful’” (Marco 2012:99). Stone (1995:280) notes that “working class audiences were amused by what they saw as the incongruity of the informal slang of a politically insignificant local community being performed formally”.

However, by the 1960s the stigma attached to the dialect had waned (Stone 1995:280). This was further evidenced by McCormick’s (2002:110) statement that Coloured speakers’ perceptions of Kaaps changed from a negative one in the previous century to a more positive one, especially from the 1990s onward. “Afrikaans ...was [now] hailed as an indigenous African language” (Becker and Oliphant 2014:8), hence a reconceptualisation of the Afrikaans “community” took place to include all of the language’s speakers in this community (Becker and Oliphant 2014:8).

*Afrikaaps* director, Catherine Henegan, states that “the current awareness within the Afrikaans hip hop movement that was born on the Cape Flats during the 1980s” was one of her reasons for creating the *Afrikaaps* production (Henegan Appendix B). At the turn of the “old” to the “new” South Africa these early conscious bands rapped against the ascription of coloured communal categorisation, thus continuing the black conscious resistance approach of most of the anti-Apartheid coloured activists (Becker and Oliphant 2014:12). This resurgence of pride in Kaaps, and its establishment as a variety in its own right, is highlighted by the 2015 Ingrid Jonker prize winner Nathan Trantaal, in his debut Kaaps anthology *Chokers and Survivors* (2013).

## CHAPTER 3

### Linguistic identity construction through performance

#### 3.1 Introduction

The interrelationship between language and identity has been approached through various theories. The traditionalist view of the relationship between language and identity has been that people enact the identities that they possess, i.e., that identity flows naturally from some core or essence that an individual possesses because of who they already are (due to their ethnicity or culture, gender, position in society, etc.). This view has often led to the equation of identity with culture. This essentialist position is that “people *have* a culture or that they *belong* to a culture” (Piller 2007:209), with culture explaining a person’s language use and so too a person’s identity. Culture is seen and understood as interconnected with ethnicity and, to a lesser degree, it can also be seen as gender-, faith- or sexuality-based. The average person’s understanding is that culture is an imagined community. In other words, members of the culture imagine themselves and are imagined by others to be part of that group. The groups are too large to be real, and as such it is impossible to know all the group members; therefore, it is best to describe this as a discursive construction or a construction concerned with analysing spoken or written interactions without any organisation, thus proceeding from topic to topic related to culture. Bruner (2010:49) defines culture as “the maintenance and legitimization of the ordinary by rendering the past and present seamlessly continuous. And that is best accomplished implicitly by reference to the local and familiar”. However, this perspective on culture is difficult to use in practice, and so “culture” becomes an assumption as it cannot be looked at empirically. It may be that the concept of ‘culture’ has served its time, as suggested by Clifford (1988:274, in Pennycook 2004:1).

Culture is seen as a static and internally homogenous entity that is different from other such entities (Piller 2007:210) even though it cannot be empirically defined. The idea of ‘cultural fixity’ has ties to colonialism and the study of anthropology which have tried to explain the collective expressions of human diversity from a relativist perspective. It is therefore not useful in understanding how individuals – who are always themselves but also who they portray themselves as being and who they are construed as being – are able to change with interactions and settings, along with age of life (Lemke 2008:19).

Lemke (2008) emphasises the idea of the multiplicity of identities by noting that identities develop and change; they are multifaceted if not in fact plural. This means that it is necessary to move away from essentialist notions about language and identities as their consistency and continuity are our constructions, mandated by our notions of the kinds of selves that are normal and abnormal in our community (Lemke 2008:19). It is Lemke's (2008) position that is adhered to in this thesis – identity is seen as multiple and multifaceted.

### **3.2 Linguistic identity construction**

A satisfactory definition of identity seems to be difficult to find. Bell and Gibson (2011:555) refer to “identity” as one of the most used and least specified terms in sociolinguistic theorising. Others, such as Lemke (2008:22), have tried to offer a more comprehensive definition. He refers to identity as the connection between our “moment-to-moment lived experience” of the world and “the meaning-making” arena of socio-cultural systems of beliefs, values and customs. He expands on this by stating that “we construct our identities out of options afforded us by our general positionality”, and our general course of experience within the world along with our general happenstances as well as “options for action” all influence the sociological and cultural framework of the world around us (Lemke 2008:21).

Sociolinguistics has employed various theories to investigate the interrelationship between language and identity. The field of sociolinguistics appears to be moving away from the strict scientific or structuralist view first offered by De Saussure (in Pennycook 2004:4) that language is a self-contained unit. In other words, whatever influence history, politics and economics had on the development of language was to be ignored in favour of investigating the internal patterns presented by the language itself. Of course, this completely disregards the agency of the speakers and learners of a language, as well as the fact that external factors do affect language and identity development. Labov (1972:36, in Warren 2012:39), by contrast, saw that “language came to reflect an identity”.

Labov studied sound change or centralisation in diphthongs in Martha's Vineyard in the 1960s. His seminal work contends that “social pressures are continually operating on a language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an imminent social force acting in the living present” (Labov 1972:3, in Warren 2012:38). His work demonstrated that there were no non-social explanations for the linguistic change that moved against the general movement in articulation from the previous two centuries. Instead, he noted that the social patterns included the use of centralised diphthongs to signal that the speakers are native to the

geographical area. He found that this arose as a unifying factor for the local islanders whose livelihoods and happiness on the island were threatened by influences from outside the island.

Both Labov and Gumperz are important sociolinguists who re-established the connection between language and its necessary social nature. Gumperz (1971:91, in Warren 2012:39) indicated that linguistic features symbolise a reality that exists, independent of themselves. In other words, languages demonstrate identities that are separate from the languages themselves. Therefore, these identities are not absolute and unchanging, but new identities can be created, old ones can be undone or contested, or identities can simply be maintained through language. Hence, some contemporary theorists argue that by using or “doing” a language, we take on or construct ourselves as different identities (Cameron 2001:170). Therefore, Gumperz demonstrates language as being constitutive of identity and not just a reflection of it, as Labov originally postulated.

Language in use, or discourse, is a resource for understanding how identity and difference and/or dominance are constructed in verbal interactions or the routine transactions of an institution (Cameron 2001:161). According to Price (1999, in Pennycook 2004:5), discourse (i.e. written or spoken communication) is seen as a practice in which the discourse and subject are performatively realised. Thus it is important to view language use in everyday life situations as well as in formal, more restrictive spaces. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Performance Theory are two constructivist theories that deal with the creation of identities through language use. Both theories use spoken discourse to research how individuals construct or create identity, since in interactive conversations it is possible to observe not only how identities are created, but also how these identities are received by the other participants. They provide an insightful means for analysis of talk so that a speaker’s or audience’s ideas about identity may be understood.

CDA uses language to investigate how people create knowledge and relationships, and share power (or not), i.e. using language to enact the social (performing particular roles in society) while it is also affected by the social. In this way, identity is emergent in discourse and does not precede it. It also demonstrates identity “as an intersubjectively achieved social [...] phenomenon” (Bucholtz and Hall 2010:27, in Warren 2012:44). This statement emphasises that identities are not created in vacuums. It places the audience or receiver of speech in a position of power (or lack thereof) dependent on the relevant discourse in which s/he is participating. There is an indexical connection between language and identity. The use of



certain language forms (for example, the choice to use a dialect over a standardised form of a language) may, in certain places, point to that speaker belonging to or identifying with a particular class or political affiliation.

### **3.3 Performativity and performance in identity construction**

Performance offers the opportunity to deal with frequently fascinating, multi-layered data where stylisation of linguistic resources is rife (Bell and Gibson 2011:555). Performed language presents a perspective of the creative and self-conscious, the kind of language previously excluded from sociolinguistic work that usually involves observing natural, off-the-cuff, uninhibited speech. Everyday performance and staged performance have commonalities, both linguistically and socially. However, in most cases we can make distinctions between these in terms of planning, physical setup, venue, framing, and social expectations. These factors set staged performance observably apart from its conversational counterpart (Bell and Gibson 2011:557). Both staged and everyday performance are relevant to this discussion since they open up several noteworthy methods of considering language and identity, languages as entities, and language as part of multimedia (transmodal) performance.

Sociolinguistic analysis of performance also necessarily involves giving attention to all the modalities involved in a particular performance, not just to language (Bell and Gibson 2011:559). Transmodal performance is such that, together with verbal communication, non-verbal communication such as mimetic gestures, the management of gaze, music, etc., it provides an integrated understanding of the body as interlinked with other social or semiotic practices. I agree with Pennycook's (2004:16) use of transmodal instead of multimodal performance since the understanding of the latter implies several individual modes of performance that happen at the same time or in the same space.

Moreover, the type of transmodal performance overcomes the essentialist view that linguistics only has to do with morphology, syntax and phonetics to explain meaning and identity, i.e., that linguistics is limited to looking within itself for meaning. By including every mode of expression – language, music, set, appearance or costume, movement and gestures – that is used to make meaning and thereby create identity, an immediacy as well as the repetition of the creation is understood. Furthermore, the room to develop or differ is present in the transmodal performances at differing locales (Bell and Gibson 2011:566). The nature of the *Afrikaaps* production was transmodal since it consisted not only of the verbal



production of the actors, but also music, movement, a video documentary of the performers' and the show's creation process, audience participation, and skits.

The concept of 'performativity' in linguistics was used by philosopher J.L. Austin in his Speech Act Theory (Pennycook 2004:7) where he distinguished between speech acts that were constative (referring to a current state of things) and performative (accomplishing something by enunciation). Austin soon realised that these distinctions could not always be upheld; due to the nature of language, there are several ways of saying what you mean. Thus, the line between constative and performative began to blur. He abandoned this theory in favour of his locutionary and illocutionary acts (Pennycook 2004:7).

Performativity was critiqued and reformulated by Derrida (1995, in Stroud 2004:149), who posited that the essence of all language is the bringing into existence of identities, social relationships and structures. While it would be some years before Butler (1993) and Bourdieu (1991 in Pennycook 2004:12) would look again at Austin's theory, it brought performativity back into the realm of mainstream linguistics. Austin coined the term "performative" in his work *How To Do Things With Words* (1962 in Pennycook 2004:9). When considering Austin's work from the perspective of how language can form part of social activity – "the role ascribed to discourse in postculturalism, for example, as the site where subjectivities are formed and reality is produced" (Pennycook 2004:10) – or how one performs identity using language, then one returns to Austin's original question, namely that of how to do things with words. Butler's (1993) notion of 'performative identity' emphasises the embodied nature of language, just like the transmodal performances in Performance Theory as discussed above.

Performativity refers to the day-to-day repetitive doing of identity through meaningful performance of what that identity is purported to be. Through the performative act, the subject or identity is constituted, therefore the identity does not pre-exist the performance. It should be noted that the performative act constitutes identity, thus it is a productive act. However, what it constitutes is whatever it appears to be, thereby creating a "circular, self-producing activity" (Pennycook 2004:8).

Identities like gender result from "the stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a rigid regulated frame which congeal over time to produce the appearance of [a quasi-permanent] structure of a natural kind of being" (Butler 1990:33). In this way, language also gains its conventional meanings by means of repetition as it is constrained within a certain space of regulated semiotic options. Therefore, where a language or identity comes from is no

longer at question or of importance; rather, its existence is dependent on how it is cited or iterated in enunciations, i.e., how it is used. This is of the utmost importance in the longevity and understanding of the language or identity.

Butler (1993:95) explains that performativity is neither free play nor theatrical self-representation, nor can it simply be equated with performance. She emphasises that the performance aspect of performativity is not just a random choice of identities depending on arbitrary preference; rather, it offers a vital means of comprehending local possibilities in identity creation. In everyday life, performance taking the form of gender, for example, is a trait or property of the behaviours to which members of society ascribe a gendered meaning; it is not a trait of the person themselves (Cameron 2001:171). In English, we say that a person “is” a man or a woman. “Being” a man or a woman means that the person appropriates and displays those gender behaviours and incorporates them in the self that s/he presents to other people. Repeated over time the individual internalises these behaviours as part of themselves so that the gender does not *feel* like a performance, but is perceived as their “natural” way of behaving. Thus, what Butler (1999:120 in Pennycook 2004:14) would refer to as performances “sedimented through time” (cumulative layers of performed behaviour that become partially settled or cemented in that person’s understanding and portrayal of themselves to the world) over time accumulate in “being” a man or woman.

Staged performance refers to identities which audiences can recognise due to characterological figures (Bell and Gibson 2011:562). In other words, an audience is able to follow a story due to the ability of the former to recognise certain constitutional personality features that demonstrate development and differences between people or reiterated aspects of identity as they have stabilised over time. In fact, the audience expects performers to show various characters or personas as it is their art form. When a performer “does” an accent, it is not necessarily to show group membership or to identify with that group; rather, it is a way of referencing that group and so the reference itself embodies a diversified scale of connections and intentions (Bell and Gibson 2011:570). In other words, social identity is indexed since the actor becomes the character or identity of the accent s/he was cast to play. In fact, s/he is simultaneously not presenting his/her own identity since s/he has had to “do” an accent, meaning s/he had to affect his/her natural speaking voice, syntax and vocabulary, thus authenticating his/her own identity as an actor, and that of the character s/he is playing (Bell and Gibson 2011:564).

Butler incorporates the notion that the longer-term aspects of identity are maintained and reinscribed in us as we act in particular ways in the moment. These aspects of identity are also, therefore, subject to change for the future through our agentive choice to perform in some ways and not in others (Lemke 2008:24). Therefore, individuals are able to create new alternative understandings of social categories out of old materials. Hence, the spontaneity of the identity creation in the moment of speaking means that hegemonic norms are subject to transgression and re-evaluation by the agents or actors or the participants in their act of producing meaning or identity.

Performance Theory also had its origins in theatre or performance studies which have grown to incorporate a broader concept of ‘performance’, including dance, music and ritual. In this vein, Bell and Gibson’s (2011) definition of “performance” is useful to understand the identity creation process. Performance demonstrates and intensifies the social semiotic impact of language, and has the potential to shape language forms and lead sociolinguistic changes since staged performance offers fresh perspectives on the important sociolinguistic questions of identity, reflexivity, and authenticity (Bell and Gibson 2011:570). For this reason, staged performance is highly effective in bringing to life the origins of identities through language. This is achieved by observing concepts like virtuosity, the audience, understanding the genre, stylisation and many modalities presented in the performance. By briefly discussing these concepts, performance will be understood as a means to create identity.

Performances tend to be *for* the audience rather than simply being *to* the audience – there is the priority to entertain and to interest audience members, not just to communicate a message (Bell and Gibson 2011:557). This requires rehearsing and some knowledge of the audience to which the performers are presenting. Through repetition of performance, the performers build a relationship with the audience. Goffman (1974, in Bauman 2011:712-713) observed that “social identity is collaboratively crafted construction”, with the audience taking part in the production and reproduction that happens front of house and/or on stage live and open to possibility, with part of the production process backstage already rehearsed. Bauman (2011:712) warns that the engagement of an audience is a reminder of the reciprocal process of stance-taking. The audience offers applause, outbursts of laughter or disgust or disappointment via cries of “Boo!” or “Bravo!”. “The performer inevitably invokes the complementary stance of audience member, inviting co-participants to assume an alignment to the performance that demands an evaluative response [...] in what amounts to the co-

construction of performance” (Bauman 2011:712). This demonstrates that the audience has a role in the construction of identity.

Cameron (2001:176) proffers the CDA label of “co-construction” – the concept that “in everyday life others are rarely spectators [...] since talk is interactive, and participants typically have the opportunity to be speakers as well as addressees”. She notes that “the notion of ‘performing’ an identity puts the spotlight on the performer, only”. I would argue, in line with Bell and Gibson (2011), that the audience is an active participant in the process of identity creation and influences identities as they are produced. I think Cameron underestimates the fact that in staged performance the audience is crucial to performance of identities. They participate and thus influence performance by, for example, applauding, laughing, crying or remaining absolutely silent.

Audiences are made up of diverse groups of people present at any particular performance for various reasons. Their enjoyment or appreciation of the performance is dependent on, for example, whether they have in-group knowledge of the identities the performers are trying to create. Thus, each performance is in some way different, since the audience is different each time. There is the “core audience” – those whom the production is directly targeting – and there are also “non-targeted audiences”, like those accessed via mass-mediated performances such as TV shows. Coupland (2007, cited in Bell and Gibson 2011:563) notes that performance seeks an acculturated audience, one that knows the genre’s modes and picks up intertextual references, for example, which nationality an accent denotes. Without the core audience or in-group knowledge of who or what is being referenced, a performance will make very little sense to non-targeted audiences.

Bauman (2011:712-713) states that “if virtuosic performance turns a reflexive eye – and ear – to the intrinsic qualities of the act of expression, the performative construction of identity foregrounds the reflexive capacity of the self to treat itself as an object”. The stage allows an audience and the cast members an opportunity to view languages and identities as entities which are separate of themselves. They are confronted with how identity differs for diverse people by the differences in portrayals of accents, dialects, even languages presented on stage, to the extent that if an actor’s performance in the stylisation of a character is flawed in some way, it is recognisable to the audience as indexing that identity. The audience and actors are able to see identity being done through performance, that is, they are witness to the performativity of performance.

Another important concept in performance and identity construction is that of ‘stylisation’. Stylisation refers to “the mannered adoption of another’s voice” (Bell and Gibson 2011:560). For example, an American actor would adopt an Australian accent for a role that concerned an Australian cricketer’s emotional struggle during the Ashes Tour, in order to make his portrayal of that character authentic to the audience. This Bakhtinian concept (1981, in Bell and Gibson 2011:560) incorporates the idea that language carries with it the symbolism, reference or character of all its previous contexts. It projects characters from a known repertoire of works by dislocating them from the immediate context and drawing attention to itself. This requires an audience that understands the reference, and an actor who is able to produce or “put on” the accent which is often exaggerated and involves “strategic inauthenticity” (Coupland 2007, in Bell and Gibson 2011:560). In other words, for my cricket movie example to be successful, the cricketer himself is removed from the space he is usually associated with (the cricket pitch) and converted into a character in a story by the film production team. This requires the audience to understand some of the character’s history and tasks as a professional cricketer. It also requires the actor to portray aspects of a professional cricketer by repeated referencing of cricket terminology, gear and important events so as to convince the audience that the actor is knowledgeable enough of the sport to act as that particular cricketer. It is therefore characteristic of acts of stylisation to indicate the agentive or initiative dimension of language style particularly common in the verbal art of staged performance (Bell and Gibson 2011:560).

### **3.4 Linguistic identity construction through Hip Hop**

Hip Hop (especially Rap) culture and the musical genre serve as media ripe for the exploration of the construction of linguistic identity and how this is performed “because of its global popularity, multifaceted politics, use of language and perceived status as a form of resistance music” (Pennycook 2003:525). Hip Hop scholarship in South Africa occupies an interesting space. The scholarship largely links with many discourses on identity and race in the country. Conscious Hip Hop music is a good site for this research to take place because of the way in which Hip Hop has historically provided a space of empowerment and agency for young Black artists (Marco 2012:100). Conscious Hip Hop’s “subversive and critical lyrics” must be distinguished from its “more commercial” counterpart, gangsta rap (Haupt 2003:7). I see gangsta rap as a sub-genre of Hip Hop as “it has been co-opted by the mainstream, thereby diluting rap’s subversive potential” (Haupt 2003:8). Gangsta rap lyrics usually

concern wealth accumulation, discussions about male sexual conquests, drug abuse and misogyny.

The introduction of Hip Hop music in South Africa took place during a time when racial discourses were largely segregated, as were other aspects of socio-economic life around the end of the Apartheid era. Hip Hop thus offers an interesting perspective on the way in which certain sections of the South African public interact with and engage with media texts placed in the popular culture category (Marco 2012:99). Groups like Black Noise, Prophets of da City and Brasse vannie Kaap were Hip Hop pioneers in South Africa during the 1980s. Furthermore, since “we are in a sense social microcosms of the social ecology of which we are a part” (Lemke 2008:21), they used this genre to perform what is known as “Conscious Hip Hop”, or Hip Hop with a message about socio-economic and political issues. A key aspect that informs Conscious’ Hip Hop is the concept of ‘knowledge of self’, which alludes to the idea that subjects need to achieve a significant level of self-awareness through a process of introspection so that they may engage critically with their reality (Haupt 2003:5).

This self-awareness, and thus agency to act, is foregrounded in knowledge of self: the idea of critically engaging with oneself as an individual as well as engaging with the rest of the world in order to consciously make sense of identity and, in particular, self-identification (Marco 2012:102). It is to this principle of Hip Hop that I believe Butler’s (1990) Performative Identity Theory is applicable. The rapper or emcee chooses to use already known language in a different setting to re-appropriate power, thereby forging a new or different identity for himself in that moment. As Butler theorises, by (re)performing this language (via the lyrics) over time, a quasi-permanent identity becomes settled. It is important to remember that this identity must be constantly remade in order to be accepted by an audience as recognisable of that particular emcee. One understanding of this may be to think of a recording artist’s sound which varies from one album to the next based on their artistic growth and experience.

Haupt argues that the decision by crews, such as Prophets of da City and Brasse vannie Kaap, to employ Hip Hop in an attempt to engage critically with South Africa’s political reality “conforms with black artists’ reliance on African-American or Caribbean material in their attempt to construct black Nationalist narratives that rely on the notion of a global black experience of oppression and resistance” (Haupt 2001:176). This point of view has been useful in investigating the performance of identity within the *Afrikaaps* production, as it offers a means for artists to talk back to the system of oppression.

It is ironic that in order to bring attention to Kaaps, a truly South African creation, the producers of *Afrikaaps* used a western form of Hip Hopera (or musical show) incorporating Conscious Hip Hop specifically to fuse and produce something intelligible not only to Kaaps speakers but to a universal audience, thus underscoring Pennycook's discussion of the globalisation of language. This irony is best expressed by Pennycook's three concerns with the discussion of globalisation when looking at the spread of English. Firstly, as demonstrated above, he suggests that globalisation should be understood with reference to "historical continuity as well as historical disjuncture since it is both a product of the history of Euro-American and other designs on the world; and a radical departure from those conditions" (Pennycook 2003:524). Secondly, globalisation should be understood "critically with regard to power, control and destruction – in its complexity as well as new forms of resistance, change, appropriation and identity". Finally, globalisation cannot "be reduced to old arguments about homogeneity or heterogeneity, or nation-states and imperialism, but instead should be viewed with regard to translocalizations and transcultural flows" (Pennycook 2003:524).

## CHAPTER 4

### Methodology

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the methodological principles followed in this thesis. The motivations behind using certain types of data collection instruments and methods of analysis will be discussed.

#### 4.2 Data collection instruments

Data was collected in two main ways. Firstly, after going to the *Afrikaaps* stage production in 2010, I viewed YouTube videos of *Afrikaaps* performances, as well as the documentary by Dylan Valley on the making of *Afrikaaps*. I chose three songs from different scenes within the production to review, namely *Ek is* ('I am'), *(Ons Maak 'It) Legal* ('(We Make It) Legal'), and *Kom Khoisan* ('Come Khoisan'). The songs were chosen based on their thematic content, and were then transcribed into English (since they are sites of heavy code-mixing and code-switching) to analyse how they represent and perform identity. I observed Valley's documentary of the production in order to transcribe the lyrics, portrayal, music and other transmodal features to understand how the performers perceive Kaaps within the narrative of *Afrikaaps*. Furthermore, viewing the documentary assisted me in explaining what the performances intimate about identity, and how this demonstrates the position of language in the formation of such an identity.

Secondly, I interviewed one of the performers of *Afrikaaps*, Emile Lester Jansen, a.k.a. Emile YX?. Initially, the plan was to interview the entire cast, but their respective work schedules made this extremely difficult. The decision was then taken to target one of the performers. Emile YX? was selected because of his long-standing involvement in the South African entertainment industry, and his explicit goal of incorporating the notions of 'identity' and 'sense of self' in his music.

I interviewed Emile YX? using a semi-structured, open-ended interview. The interview took place at his parents' house in Grassy Park where he was recuperating from a back injury. I taped the interview on a digital voice recorder and later transcribed it in order to analyse Emile YX?'s language use, his thoughts about Kaaps, and his view on how performing in Kaaps reflected who he was or his identity through his own narrative. In qualitative analysis,



there is always the problem of what to omit from an analysis transcript. I attempt to overcome this by providing the full transcript (see Appendix A). I have done this so that quotations presented in the following chapter may be understood beyond the context of my brief analysis. Also, I believe that it is important to read how Emile YX? performed and spoke about his identity in the interview speech event.

Other than my communication to set up an interview date and to settle the location, I merely gave Emile YX? my thesis topic and requested his availability for an interview. Aside from the rationale for my study (see Chapter 1), it is necessary to understand my relationship as an interviewer with my interviewee. I had previously met Emile YX? at various Hip Hop events, and had a colleague of mine as a mutual acquaintance. I had also worked with his then fiancée (now wife) who worked at the South African Constitutional Literacy and Service Initiative as a curriculum content developer sometime before *Afrikaaps* was created. So while I knew of Emile YX?, I was by no means part of his intimate circle of friends – rather just a casual acquaintance.

The interview began with a conventional life narrative pattern. I encouraged Emile YX? to speak in whatever variety he felt most comfortable, and conducted the interview in English. He spoke about his upbringing, education, professional training and performing experience, and at different points, Emile YX? freely shared his views on tangential issues. It is for this reason, along with the fact that the questions were open-ended, that the interview is over an hour in length. I directed my questions to his use of language, and his awareness of language at various stages of his life. I also enquired as to his motivations, thoughts about, and participatory experience in staging the *Afrikaaps* production.

### **4.3 Motivations for the methodology**

The aim of ethnomethodological and phenomenological research is to offer a perspective of both the physical and cultural worlds in which an interviewee lives out him-/herself. This is done by analysing the narratives or stories presented by an interviewee. Narratives are most useful for understanding identity because, “unlike logical propositions, they cannot be context free” (Bruner 2010:46). Narratives are always located in a cultural setting (see Chapter 3 for the definition of “culture”). It is important to note that life in a culture is constantly available for improvisation given the fact that all cultures are filled with ambiguities and innumerable possibilities. Therefore, narratives provide ideal sites for studying Performative Identity Theory since how the self is performed in new contexts is

reliant on previous performances of the self in other contexts, i.e., improvisation from what is known.

The study of narratives also supports the constructivist theory of identity formation. Like Ricouer (1990, in Bruner 2010:47), I believe that narratives are not just ways of constructing lifelike literature but also a way of knowing the world – a metaphorical way to be sure, but often our only way. This characteristic of verisimilitude or truth-likeness means that narratives do not have to be true in a verifiable sense to be believable. In fact, Mann (2011:17) encourages analysis of interview data by means of discourse analysis – the same as one would any other spoken interaction. In other words, interviewers should become focused on footing, stakeholder management, emotion talk, identity work – concepts usually part of discourse analysis, but available to be utilised in qualitative interview data. He makes this suggestion since ethnomethodological interviews, or interviews in which the main purpose is to consider how identity is performed in that speech event, pay close attention to “interview interaction” – that is, how identity is spoken about and how identity is done or performed during the speech event (Mann 2011:16).

In this way, interviewers are understood as co-constructors of the interviewee’s identity as interviewers are able to request more information, elaboration or justification regarding identity claims self-reported by the interviewee. Following Mann’s suggestion would develop greater sensitivity in interviewers conducting qualitative interviews, and interviewers would avoid a prescriptive orientation of the data (Georgakopoulou 2010:131).

Interview data provide identity claims that are presented as settled spaces that have been arrived at and inhabited by narrators. Therefore, the presented self may be reflected upon retrospectively (Georgakopoulou 2010:132). In this way, I was able to get the “added value” that Cameron (2001:173) speaks of from the data by focusing not only on what Emile YX? says, but also by observing what he says in relation to what he does. I agree with Georgakopoulou that this reflection and self-disclosure are useful means for understanding the social organisation of experience, or how interviewees make sense of themselves in specific environments.

#### **4.4 Methods of analysis**

The data was considered to be co-constructed as discussed above and was analysed by means of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis focuses the discussion of data based on certain

themes highlighted by the researcher. Braun and Clarke (2006) and Saldana (2009) offer principles that researchers should comply with for coding and/or identifying themes within the data collected, since some scholars argue that there are no specific steps. To this end, Braun and Clarke (2006:89) have provided six steps for thematic analysis. These have proven particularly useful in analysing the many parts of *Afrikaaps*, a multimodal production.

A brief outline of the Braun and Clarke steps (2006) follows below indicating how I applied them in researching this project (see also Srivastava and Thomson 2009).

- I. The process of familiarising oneself with the data or data immersion – transcribing the interview of Emile YX?, “reading through notes, memos, memory-joggers” etc. re-reading data and jotting down initial ideas, becoming aware of the interviewee’s frame of reference (Burnard 1991:462). I prepared myself by listening to older Black Noise albums, researching Emile YX? online, asking mutual friends about him, and reading about Hip Hop in the 1980s in South Africa.
- II. The process of generating initial codes. This coding or labelling of as many kinks or quirks as possible demonstrates the intriguing features of the data or aspects peculiar to the content. This could also be called open coding, because the researcher is freely generating topics or headings. I transcribed and translated lyrics from the *Afrikaaps* production, then watched clips of the performers discussing various issues own to themselves and their communities on Youtube and Facebook in order to generate potential initial codes.
- III. Searching for themes by scrutinising the data for patterned or repeated meanings (Braun and Clarke 2006). I started noticing common themes, issues, and points of discussion across my research and noted these down, also collating the relevant data around each theme so that I could later discuss these in my analysis of the data. I did this at the time of translating the transcript and lyrics. At that time I identified themes as well as noted data portions that appeared to be compelling examples and potential examples to some issues. (Some of these data portions were words and others were larger chunks). I highlighted these by using different colours and by making comments and assigning codes to locate where such an identified theme is located in the transcript and lyrics. Finally in my search for themes, I returned to review my research questions, overall thesis structure, and the time and space restrictions for my data analysis chapter. Once I drew up the outline for this chapter, the sections and

subsections followed according to the research objectives I had. Thus a systematic way for discussing the themes generated followed.

- IV. The reviewing of themes is a necessary process. By subsuming headings so that similar topics form broader categories, and then rereading this new list of categories and sub-headings to remove any redundancies, themes are reviewed, thus creating a thematic guideline of the analysis. For example, this thesis project required me to develop a comprehensive chapter outline in order to address the research questions at hand systematically.
- V. Next, define and name themes. Through a process of ongoing analysis, specific themes are refined and specific names for each theme are generated. Here some themes may have been moved to other subsections, others merged, while still others may have been reduced to examples due to relevance as well as the space restrictions of the current study.
- VI. Finally, the production of the report in which the data is analysed. Example extracts are reproduced within the discussion, and reference is made to the literature on the subject, ultimately producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

It is important to note that throughout my four year writing of this thesis, steps V and VI were recurrent in keeping me focussed on the significance of the *Afrikaaps* production to speakers of Kaaps and the language of Afrikaans in general. Thus many sections, parts of chapters, examples and extracts from the lyrics and interview transcription were moved around, replaced, or deleted in favour of more compelling examples or extracts. Reviewing the ever-growing amount of literature on the selected themes was also an ongoing process, as “newly discovered” sources were perused and included in the drafts of this thesis throughout the writing process. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967 in Burnard 1991:464) the aim of ethnomethodological and phenomenological research is to offer a glimpse of another person’s perceptual world. Hence by labelling and researching various themes it may be possible for the researcher to attempt to offset his/her own bias.

## CHAPTER 5

### Data analysis

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the themes uncovered through the thematic analysis. As the main focus of this thesis is linguistic identity construction, the themes identified are all themes related to linguistic identity. *Afrikaaps*, as a stage performance along with the documentary element, provides a good opportunity to investigate developments in language and identity research. Pennycook (2004:3) suggests that it is necessary to lose the approach whereby “the objects of study of linguistics (languages), like cultures, are not pre-given entities but rather are the products of the mode of study; and second, this process of forming languages is deeply embedded within colonial projects of knowledge formation”. The current study may be used to demonstrate Pennycook’s approach. In the first instance, Kaaps is an example of a language variety that developed out of necessity. As such, it was not “pre-given”, rather developing as slaves and masters needed to conduct business. To view Kaaps as passive, and thus an empirical object of study, is not possible. Instead, it needs to be observed as describing the world through repeated speech patterns that crystalised into the grammar of a language over time, and continues to evolve like any other living language. In the second instance, *Afrikaaps* is an exposé of the colonisation of language to the point where key players in its formation were not mentioned in its history, and their reasons for creating it were downplayed in what became a language associated with oppression and Afrikaner nationalism.

Due to Kaaps arising as a language of necessity, certain recurring themes were found when researching its origins. These themes were also present when reviewing the Emile YX? interview transcription, and once again when transcribing, translating and analysing the lyrics of the songs in *Afrikaaps*. The themes include code-switching, performance, identity construction, hybridity and marginality. These themes were identified by looking for recurring words and chunks of information, whether in slang or visuals or auditory evidence which indicated particular topics being addressed.

1. Re-entrenchment – the idea that with every performance you have the chance to influence more people, and solidify a different image of yourself.
2. Legalisation of Kaaps as a recognised 12<sup>th</sup> language in South Africa.

3. The self-worth of Kaaps speakers is indicated linguistically as “lesser than” by associations with *gamtaal* (‘the language of Ham’), ‘*n slawetaal* (‘a slave language’) *kombuis* (literally ‘kitchen’ but short for ‘kitchen Dutch’), and hence a damaged psyche of self. Another aspect of this theme is observance of hegemonic racial discourses in South Africa.
4. Hybridity and marginality – the celebration of Kaaps as non-mainstream means that it can be an effective instrument for demonstrating lack of agency but also the re-appropriation of power.

## 5.2 Re-entrenchment: *Afrikaaps, My Taal* (‘Afrikaaps, My Language’)

The idea behind *Afrikaaps* was to re-entrench more positive aspects of identity in relation to the speakers of Kaaps. The aim here was to demonstrate parts of history not within the common knowledge of Kaaps speakers, and thus to move them towards a self-created identity where speakers were free to infuse various identities into the final idea of what “Colouredness” is. The opening scene of the production is the first musical number that the cast performs together. It is preceded by brief introductions of their Khoi character identities, namely Emile YX? as Autshumoa the *Strandloper*,<sup>10</sup> Bliksemstraal as Namoah or Doman, and Blaq Pearl as Krotoa.<sup>11</sup> (The other performers, Jitsvinger and Moenier, do not have alter egos like the first three). The stage is set in darkness. There is a semi-circular platform along the back of the stage which encircles the performers. This scene is lit to look like the performers are dancing around a campfire. The back of the stage is lit in a bright circle, as if

<sup>10</sup> Autshumoa is also known as Harry the *Strandloper* (‘beachcomber’). In 1630 he was taken to Bantam by the English and returned to the Cape a year later. He had learned to speak Dutch and English, which made him very useful to his people and the European settlers who were engaged in a trading relationship. In 1658 he waged war against the Dutch settlers. The war broke out when Autshumao reclaimed cattle that were unfairly taken from the Gorinhaikonas people by the Dutch. He lost the war and in 1659s became the first prisoner on Robben Island, together with his two followers, Simon Boubou and Khamy, after being banished by Jan van Riebeeck. In 1660 Autshumao and one other prisoner escaped by stealing a rowing boat, which got them to the mainland. Autshumao and his fellow escapees are the only people to successfully escape from Robben Island. Autshumao died in 1663 (summarised from Barnard 2007:18-30)

<sup>11</sup> At the age of about 10 or 11 years Krotoa (known as Eva to the Dutch and English settlers) was taken in by Jan van Riebeeck during the first few days of Dutch settlement in the Cape. She worked as a servant to the Commander’s wife, Maria van Riebeeck (née de la Quellerie), and is first mentioned in Van Riebeeck’s diary in January 1654 as “a girl who had lived with us” (Bloem 1999:21). She mastered Dutch and Portuguese, and responded eagerly to Christian instruction given to her by Maria. As her command of the Dutch language and her familiarity with Dutch ways grew, so did her usefulness as an interpreter. Krotoa established herself as a staunch friend of the Dutch, negotiating a co-operative relationship between the fort and the followers of her rich relative, Oedasoa. She was later instrumental in working out terms for ending the First Dutch–Khoikhoi War (summarised from Bloem 1999).

the moon is resting on the stage. The tune to this song is reminiscent of a *ghoema*<sup>12</sup> tune played by the musicians who are to the left of the performers.

The most important question any person ever asks themselves is “Who am I?” This song uses as a theme for exploration the need individuals have to define who they are in terms of their background and current situation within the world. It is within this milieu that the stage is set. The crude nature of the scene, the ever present music, however faint, and the darkness create an air of anticipation. The stage is styled in a way that is both alien and familiar at the same time – the audience is able to recognise the set as a staged street scene, reminiscent of any township in South Africa, and it seems a relaxed scenario in which the performers and musicians interact as if they were rehearsing outside of the theatre. This interaction continues to play on the idea of a Hip Hopera, that is, a new theatre form engaging multiple media and fused music genres, thereby creating a mutually engaging and entertaining space.

ENTIRE CAST: Ek is, wie is ekki, wie is ekki, wie is jy? X2

MOENIER: Ek is ‘n number met ‘n storie, ou pel  
 Van hoe my mense hulle feeling en geheime vertel  
 Ek was gebore daar in Europe met ‘n ander taal  
 Maar innie Kaap was ek gekap met ‘n Kriale Saal  
 Ek is ook baie gesing met ‘n ghoema saam  
 Ek vat jou hand, Zanzibar en Dar Es Salaam  
 Dutch Sailor Boy / wat sing jy daar?  
 Sal jy mind as ek vir jou ‘n klein vragie vra?  
 Sing `y song gou weer, en dan ‘n nogger keer  
 Nou kan ek mos al my broese dai song leer  
 Oor ‘n uur of twee sal ons dai number ken  
 Met ‘n smile sing ons hom now and then

(My translation:

ENTIRE CAST: I am, who am I, who am I, who are you)

MOENIER: I am a song with a story, old pal  
 of how my people tell their “feeling[s]” and secrets  
 I was born there in Europe with a different language  
 but in the Cape I was hijacked (or chopped) with a creole style  
 I’m also often sang together with a ghoema  
 I take your hand Zanzibar and Dar Es Salaam  
 would you mind if I asked you a little question  
 Sing that song quickly, again, and then another time

<sup>12</sup> The *ghoema* beat amalgamated and fused African jazz, Indian, Muslim or Arabic musics and practices to provide a unifying creole pulse that pervades most Cape Town music. “It stands out as evidence of Euro-African – slave/coloured cross fertilisation, as an illustration that creolization processes fuelled by such cross-fertilisation can also nurture identity configuration and provide material for reconstructing identities based on the recovering self-esteem and pride” (Martin 2013:352-354).



Now I can (*mos*) teach all my brothers that song  
 In an hour or two we'll know that song  
 with a smile we'll sing it now and then)

Moenier refers to the audience as *ou pel*, an Afrikaans pronunciation of the English slang “old pal”. This reference immediately places the audience as an in-group member of the cast as they understand the reference to being an “old friend”. He notes that he was born in Europe with a different language but in Cape Town he was hijacked or chopped with a creole style. Here he is specifically alluding to the origin of Kaaps as based on Dutch, but affected by the growth of so many other languages, hence resulting in a new form of communication. This emphasis on creole is highlighted in the next line by the reference to Kaaps being sung with the *ghoema* style of music mentioned. The stylisation of his voice is that of the *Klopse* or Malay choirs, traditionally synonymous with Cape Town’s heritage, and so once again, the audience is lulled into a familiarity of format.

Central to the concept of stylisation is the “idea that language carries with it the ‘taste’ of all its uses in previous contexts” (Bell and Gibson 2011:560). The stylisation of Moenier’s voice and the genre of *ghoema* emphasises the creole, which it is not only a mix of eclectic aesthetics and genres but is, more importantly, in a continuous process of evolution. Creole is a constant flow of making new shapes – visual and sonic scapes, in Appadurai’s (1991, in Becker and Oliphant 2014:5) understanding. Moenier’s lyricism, along with the staging, is also meant to place the audience in a position of suspended time, simultaneously referencing the past and present, thereby giving the effect of being out of time. It is also noticeable that while Moenier sings in the present time, he is referring to “the little-known story of Afrikaans”, particularly slavery at the Cape in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. He plays on the time at issue in this verse by ending with the English expression “now and then”, refocusing the audience’s attention on the fact that the performance is a reference to the past as it affects the present, but also to the temporal nature of an identity. At the time he was singing about, Moenier would have been identified as a slave, while today it is a style he adopts when entertaining.

He mentions Zanzibar and Dar Es Salaam, two major trading ports, especially for slaves along the Dutch East India route. By saying that he is taking their hand, I think he means that the governance in South Africa were in cahoots with these slave traders and so they are all part of the creation of Kaaps. In calling out to the “Dutch Sailor Boy”, Moenier shocks the audience into realising a dynamic view of the slave–slave-owner relationship since he would



not previously have had the power to address a slave owner had the play followed conventional history. However, this is one way *Afrikaaps* uses the musical format to speak back to history in a way that recognises Coloured agency.

He continues to mock the old relationship by using the polite, formal question “Would you mind if I asked you a question?” as an instance of intrasentential code-switching with the informal form of address *jy*, instead of the more formal and polite *u* in Afrikaans. Using *jy* and *jou* are typical forms of address in Kaaps, as illustrated in the lyric *Sal jy mind as ek ‘n klein vragie vra?* He thus demonstrates purpose of stylisation in this context, that is, the agentive dimension of language style in its ability to reference history, voicing his opinion of the complicated relationship of slavery that is one of cultural sharing, imposition and sometimes restriction, while synchronously calling into recognition the contemporary *ghoema* style of the *Kaapse Klopse* troupes who purposefully use recognisable tunes to speak about current socio-political issues.

This stylisation is contrary to what has commonly been expected from the *ghoema* or *Kaapse Klopse* troupe reference in terms of stage performance, as Emile YX? highlights in his interview (Appendix A lines 223-237).

EMILE YX?: ... So what do you have, what are you saying about Coloured people ... I mean the biggest seller of all plays in any stage is like District Six – The Musical. Like how can that ... If that wasn’t run with David Kramer, and Coloured people – so-called “Coloured” people – had a bigger say, I don’t think it would have come across as such a comedy. Like when I watched it I cried, especially when that character, the dude ‘Ta Maka, says, “Blow wind! Blow!”, “Fuck these people!” I was so angry! And um, I’m like everybody came out laughing. It was like almost like it was watered down and I was very angry at that play. ‘Cause I was so tired of us

INTERVIEWER (*interjects*): of us being the joke?

EMILE YX?: Ja, but also reminiscent and not proactive, but anyway. So it’s almost like that set the tone across the board of how subdued we are you know, as a people. About this language that we speak and like and then like coming to *Afrikaaps* and being exposed to all the facts that’s connected to the thing, I was blown away.

District Six – The Musical (1987) was a production about a neighbourhood located near the central business district of Cape Town, where people of all races lived. The Group Areas Act of 1966 made it illegal for different racial groups to live in the same residential area in South Africa. It is for this reason that it was destroyed and these groups relocated or dislocated to other, racially designated neighbourhoods. The play revolves around the community who lived through the forced removals. Today only a few churches and mosques remain. District

Six – The Musical is of great significance to *Afrikaaps* as it was an extremely successful play in which Kaaps was showcased, as well as the Coloured people who spoke it. It was performed 550 times and was seen by about 350 000 people when its first run ended in 1990. It has long since been the most famous representation of Coloured people and their perceived Apartheid struggle through the genre of *ghoema* music and the vocal stylings of *Kaapse Klopse* troupes. Once again, Emile YX? and Moenier's performance highlight the agentive dimension of stylisation to re-appropriate images usually associated with this genre of music as perceived subduedness and lack of authority, to a more powerful image of interrogating this history and image.

When asked about the Khoi and *Klopse* characters they embodied throughout the production, Emile YX? (Appendix A line 1017-1031) had the following comments:

INTERVIEWER: Do you feel like the characters you performed in *Afrikaaps* was different to how you, your personality, um and your personal performances, do you feel that there's a difference?

EMILE YX?: Um, not much. 'Cause I think that they made it clear from the start that we're not actually ... it's not a play. It's a musical production, you know, you're not acting. And I was very adamant from the start, you know, look I'm not an actor, I don't wanna like give you the illusion that I can do this shit. They were like "Nah, just do the songs and do your piece. We'll tell you if it sounds too actor-ish just ..." And um, so it wasn't a huge stretch. And I actually, I think because I was honest with them from the get-go, they, they were cool with it. I think the play opens up with a piece from Austhumao and um, like that was awkward at first. Like I don't really do that very often, but it wasn't foreign. But obviously in English in um, in Sweden [...] Um, it's funny how they chose the character for me to play. Because as one of the first struggle people in Cape Town, um, after what's-his-name [...].

The idea then, if they are not acting, is that they are representing alternative identities or aspects of themselves. This links to Bell and Gibson's (2011:560) idea of stylisation as well as strategic inauthenticity. The characters are themselves pointing to these ancestral roots by means of adopting their stories at various times during the play. Thus it is not necessary that their portrayal be accurate since they reference both the character they intend to take on and themselves by stylising the voice, dress and behaviour in a particular way. By specifically referring to that portrayal of Kaaps speakers presented by the District Six musical, sharing his own passionate reaction towards its oversimplistic representation of Coloured people, Emile YX? is challenging a current understanding of what the South African society believes Coloured people to be. Emile YX? points to his portrayal of Autshumao as a way to demonstrate a poignant member of Kaaps history, while infusing his spirit of rebellion and

struggle from centuries ago into the lyrics he performed in order to influence current speakers of Kaaps's view of Kaaps today. He affirms the active role Autshumato played in furthering the development of Afrikaans by including him in the production.

Blaq Pearl continues to entrench positive references to the ancestry from which she came by referring to being barefoot in the fourth verse of the song *Ek Is*.

BLAQ PEARL: Ek is daai dogter oppie strand  
 Kaalvoet – wat gaan ek maak?  
 Spring oor – die hakiesdraad  
 Da' na – wa' sal ek gaan  
 Met my – pride in my sak?  
 Is tyd – haal it uit  
 Son skyn, op my styl  
 Ek is – daai straatmeid  
 Hare styf, kry dit uit  
 Vind my plek – op verlore grond  
 Onthou?! (ek is)

(My translation:  
 I am that girl on the beach  
 Bare foot – what am I going to do?  
 Jump over the barbed wire  
 After that, where shall I go?  
 With my pride in my pocket  
 It's time – show what you've got (or take it out)  
 Sun shines on my style  
 I am that street girl (maid)  
 Hair stiff, get it out  
 Find my place - on lost ground  
 Remember?! (I am))

The Khoi and San were not known for wearing shoes; in some cases, very rudimentary sandals were fashioned from animal skin. Becker and Oliphant (2014:13) note that “the embrace of a discourse which emphasises the ‘KhoiSan’ origin of Coloureds is fairly recent”. The embodied aesthetics of contemporary KhoiSan cultural activism embraces in fact revolves around a dreaded (and rugged) appearance (Becker and Oliphant 2014:13). We will see this aesthetic discuss further in this stanza. However, in present day terms to be *kaalvoet* (‘barefoot’) is also a reference to being poor. It was a means of recognising a slave during the days of Jan van Riebeeck.

The reference to *hakiesdraad* (‘barbed wire’) is a visual reference to Apartheid. The restrictions placed on people within their own spaces were often even more constricted by the

presence of “Caspers” or armed police tanks in the townships. When news of riots or potential protest action spread, it was standard for these tanks to move into Black and Coloured communities. They would be accompanied by police dogs (usually German Shepherds) and barbed wire was used to cordon off areas so that people would not congregate. Blaq Pearl asks poignantly afterwards, “Where shall I go/ With my pride in my pocket?” This question is also posed to the audience about what happens after Apartheid, especially when Coloured people have been stripped of their pride through the imposition of segregationist laws, which meant spatial separation from their families, and restrictions have been placed on their interactions with other races. Here, I think she is referring to the forced removals in accordance with the Group Areas Act, Act No 41 of 1950 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No 49 of 1953 which made it illegal for people of different races to reside in the same area, as well as use the same public amenities such as parks, restrooms, and public benches.

It appears as if her observations and questions are posed from the time of Krotoa, when the nomadic Khoi people were suddenly restricted from their free-roaming lifestyle by the arrival of settlers who claimed land where they found it, regardless of the people already subsisting off that land. She notes that it’s time to show what you’ve got (as implied by the allusion to the Afrikaans expression *haal uit en wys*, the equivalent of saying “bring out the big guns!”). A moment of musical comedy follows as she sings the line “sun shines on my style” since she is unwrapping her headscarf to reveal her bald head, thereby playing on the meaning of “sun shin[ing] on her [hair]style”. With the lighting of the stage, her head is shining, thus a verbal transferred epithet. This is an interesting revelation as it provides a reality check to the audience. The headscarf is traditional not only to the Khoi but also to the Xhosa culture in South Africa. She thereby invokes those ancestors through her dress.

When she reveals her baldness, she brings the audience back to this century where women, especially Coloured women, are still dealing with the politics of hair and appearance (Russell 2001:217). In Kaaps if you have *goeie draad* (‘good wire’) it means you have good hair. *Hare styf, kry dit uit* (‘Hair stiff, get it out’) refers to the desirable straight, sleek hair most Coloured women have been indoctrinated to idolise as this would shift their identity closer to White and therefore more privileged. This is in opposition to the outcast descendants of Ham, as Emile YX? refers to them, or the racially mixed and therefore fringe people, who were removed from society and thus were also undesirable. Another plausible interpretation of this

lyric is that we, as Coloured women, should get rid of the idea that our hair, and therefore who we are, is not good enough to show or wear or that our hair somehow represents us.

Blaq Pearl bypasses these issues. She calls herself *daai straatmeid* ('that street woman') which has negative connotations as it could refer to her being a prostitute. *Meid* has always been a derogatory term in my experience. It comes from the Dutch *meid* ('girl') but has strong connotation with the English *maid* and was bastardised to refer to Coloured or Black women, who were typically in service, that is, lower class or working class women. She reveals Coloured insecurities about her appearance and place in society, and then moves towards re-establishing her identity by finding herself and therefore her place on the land that was once lost to the White settlers.

The line 'Find my place – on lost ground' is an encouraging, empowering one since the performers are invoking the ancient behaviour of the characters of Autshumoa and Krotoa, thus representing and re-entrenching these historical contributors as being part of Coloured ancestry. Here, the use of *haal uit (en wys)*, *goeie draad* and familiar references like *hakiesdraad*, *meid*, *kaalvoet*, and *oppie strand* ('on the beach') in this new setting demonstrate Butler's theory of applying known aspects of identity to an improvised setting in order to forge a new identity or strengthen an already existing one. Finally, she demands that the audience 'Remember?! (I am)', in other words, remember who they are and, by doing so, who she is.

### 5.3 Legalisation or formalisation of Kaaps

Legalisation can be seen as a further form of re-entrenchment. I believe it merits discussion as a theme in and of itself, since a large part of the production is centred around advocacy and agency of Kaaps and the speakers thereof. One of the reasons for this fervent surge in legalisation or formalisation is that it would certainly go a long way to bolster knowledge and awareness of self for many South Africans, regardless of race or their role and location in the history of the country.

INTERVIEWER: I think Catherine made the point in the documentary, she said that the aim or not the aim but she said what you need to keep in mind is that people were dispossessed of their language and their land so this is part of a movement.

EMILE YX?: Of a reformation (*overlaps*), ja and I think is also just like a ... When people say land, it is also a state of mind, man. Like you've got a huge community of people who don't feel like they part of the country like especially people who ... like

Afrikaaps speakers or Afrikaans speakers on the Cape Flats they feel like completely like in their minds they don't belong here whereas in their actions they do. You know, everything they do like they'll first get local remedies to try and solve whatever problems; the food they make, the food they eat, what they grew up with ... like small, small things that make them belong right here that they don't even realise that make them belong here. And I think that is the real power ... to this point I think that is the unexamined, the unfired-up part of the community that I think Afrikaaps has still not reached. Like the Hanover Parks, the Manenbergs, the Mitchells Plains ...

The above quotation ties into a broader discussion of legalisation as a form of re-entrenchment of Coloured identity. The production *Afrikaaps* offers the idea that via legalisation or formalisation of the Kaaps dialect as a language in its own right, its identity can be re-appropriated and its stereotypes revolutionised to enhance Coloured agency within the larger South African community. As Emile YX? mentions, the aim is to indicate that musicals are not the only stream for using Kaaps (Appendix A 1122-1130):

EMILE YX?: We're constantly write so that others can [understand] Ja, and also feel like, threatened by: what's this word here? What are you actually saying now? You know? And so when they get to the point where you can go to a library and pick up a book that has like *gamtaal* front to back ... Like "Yoooooh!" [imitating disbelief and pride] Like there's a book out now, "Aweh", from Joburg. I mean, their *gamtaal* is different than ours, but it's still *kwaai* ('great') to read that. To read someone writing in that manner. You know? And so, um, then we don't feel so like ... that we have to [write in standard language to be understood].

There is a brief skit in the middle of the show where Bliksemstraal and Moenier feign newscasting in Kaaps. The reiteration of the possibility in the physical form of the documentary taking place in Kaaps, and zooming into the community's feelings by interviewing and presenting in Kaaps, all reinforce the idea that Kaaps is something to be proud of and to share in order to further its existence.

(*Ons Maak 'It) Legal* is one of the last songs in the *Afrikaaps* productions. The emphasis of the cast is stressed as they sing *ons* ('we'). This first person plural pronoun is the first word sung in the song and unites all in advocating for Kaaps to become an official language. This directly deals with the re-appropriation of power, since the title of the song makes it clear that those who speak Kaaps give it credence, keep it alive, enforce whatever rules of grammar there are, and innovate the language. Whereas this may be a pipe dream of the production to eventually have Kaaps reach official language status, it is clearly seeking recognition of Kaaps as a living South African variety, and thus also seeking recognition for speakers of Kaaps as South African. There are problems with legalisation or the acquisition of official language status, such as those experienced by Afrikaans. Standardisation is almost impossible

as there are different usages across the Western Cape region. This ties in with the mixed code or code-switching debate. Aside from these obstacles, the aim of pushing legalisation here is to create awareness of the history of Kaaps and advocate for speakers to use the variety with pride and fervour.

As seen in the documentary clip, when the *Afrikaaps* cast visits students at Lavender High School (Valley 2010:23 minutes), the learners note that there are stark differences between the Afrikaaps they speak and the standard Afrikaans they are required to master to graduate from high school. They also realise the futility in representing themselves in Kaaps as there are prevalent misgivings in society that Kaaps is representative of lesser social class and intellectual capacity; one learner notes that should he use Kaaps in an interview situation, he will most definitely not be considered for the position. The sad reality for most Coloured Kaaps speakers is that they feel it is the only marker of their identity. So, as it is regarded as “less than” or an “inferior” variety, it automatically correlates that speakers of Kaaps would incorporate this low sense of self-worth into their identities. This is reflected by Bliksemstraal’s performance of (*Ons Maak ‘It) Legal* in the second verse:

Som noemit ‘n slaaftaal  
 Anner noemit ‘n slang baby  
 Som noemit ‘n kommunikasie  
 Tussenie Khoi San enie Malaysi  
 Die Nederland en Germany  
 American and English  
 Anner mense comment net  
 Op ‘n creole basis  
 Os is ‘n donker vrag wat voel  
 Nai dies os land se vryheid  
 En os kan count op osse TAAL  
 Osse siel te liberate  
 Som noemit ‘n flop, van ‘n ko, meni ou skiewe pot  
 Wat gekommit op ‘n skip en os benoemit HOTNOT<sup>13</sup>

(My translation:  
 Some call it a slave language  
 others a slang baby  
 some call it a communication  
 between the Khoi and the Malays  
 the Netherlands and Germany  
 American and English  
 Other people only comment

<sup>13</sup> The term “Hottentot” is the Dutch word for KhoiKhoi, also used by the KhoiKhoi when speaking to Europeans (Bloem 1999:227). Its abbreviated version, “Hotnot” – has acquired derogatory connotations.



on a creole basis  
 We are a dark mass of people who feel  
 “No, this is our land’s freedom  
 and we can count on our language  
 to liberate our soul”  
 Some call it a flop, because it comes, from an old skew pot  
 that came on a ship and named us “Hotnot”!)

With this verse, Bliksemstraal demonstrates that language and identity are inseparable concepts, as by embracing language. He notes the names and connotations attached to Kaaps, but points out that regardless it achieved communication across a range of people and nations. The use of *donker* (‘dark’) in ‘*n donker vrag wat voel/ nai dies ons land se vryheid*’ could literally be referring to the skin tone of Coloured people. I prefer the more figurative interpretation of an innumerable number of people who are burdened with the feelings of oppression, but who shrug it off since it is their land’s freedom. Bliksemstraal encourages the audience with the following line: “and we can count on our language/ to liberate our souls”. Whether Kaaps is deemed to have come from a creole basis or elsewhere, his verse indicates that by speaking it and understanding it (especially its history), we give credence to ourselves and our place as South Africans in South Africa, Africans in Africa, and thus to our existence as human beings.

He continues that even with the idea of Kaaps being a “flop” because it developed out of the kitchen staff – referenced as *ou skiewe pot* (‘old skew pot’) – trying to communicate with their Dutch masters. The masters are those of whom Bliksemstraal says *Wat gekommit op ‘n skip en os benoemit HOTNOT* (‘that came on a ship and named us “Hotnot”’) which notes that the derogatory name for Coloured people as “Hotnots” originates from the enslavers or colonisers who brought them to South Africa. Bliksemstraal plays on the Afrikaans expression *elke skiewe pot kry sy deksel* (‘there is a lid for every skew old pot’), meaning that there is a partner for each person. I think Bliksemstraal stirs the pot with his language use here. He implies that “Hotnots” and Afrikaaps go together. In the same way each pot needs a lid to be fully functional, the purpose of Kaaps is to liberate the souls of the “Hotnots” who speak it in South Africa.

EMILE YX? (*overlaps*): I think it’s, like even legalising Afrikaaps is also tied into a sense of self-worth. Like you know, I think bottom line of this production is like our sense of value as human beings, and you know, it’s one thing to say that we’re all human beings, but if I know more about you than you benefitting from that crap, you forcing me to see and know to about you also, to create a balance or equality, I need to know as much about you as you know about me, and I think that’s like essentially,



in my opinion, what *Afrikaaps* is trying to achieve. It's trying to make them realise, you know, that we've um, there's this illusion of White supremacy, when in actual fact White people are descendant of the first people of [earth], you know, and that whole twisting of history by White folk of the planet is, sort of, it's getting old and like, they need to realise that there's factual proof that they themselves have found, that's proving, you know, that we're all from the same foundation. And also I think like giving back on a broader scale like African, um, African worth. (Appendix A line 1079-1090)

As Emile YX? indicates, legalisation was a point of advocacy and empowerment for speakers of Kaaps more than it ever was a call to provide Kaaps with official language status in South Africa today. I think that it is worth exploring the idea of Coloured knowledge of self as opposed to the more prevalent idea of shame associated with Kaaps and its speakers.

#### **5.4 Knowledge of self vs. Coloured shame**

The shocking reality, however, is that in 2015 there is a lingering sense of shame associated with Kaaps and its speakers. Hendricks reiterates both Erasmus and Wicomb in her articulation that the Coloured identity construction “has been cloaked by the perceived shame of ‘illegitimacy’ and lack of authenticity that has to a large extent psychologically disempowered the bearers of the identity” (2005:118). This idea of shame has been explored by various authors and I view it as worthy of exploration, especially when opposed with the Hip Hop principle of knowledge of self.

The following discussion investigates the pervasive shame of Kaaps as it is confronted with the Hip Hop principle of knowledge of self. It would appear that Hip Hop offers speakers of Kaaps not only the opportunity of self-expression, but also the space to forge a new self. As demonstrated by the literature, music, the *Afrikaaps* production, as well as by the lived experiences of Emile YX? and the other cast member, this genre may be the assertion that Coloured speakers of Kaaps need in order to feel that they are truly South African, and hence African, in their identities.

Sociolinguists have observed that it is very common for low-status speakers to stigmatise their own dialects and languages, mixed or otherwise, and to report inaccurately on their own language use. These comments usually reflect widespread public stereotyping of the speakers' social group rather than the facts of their own language behaviour which, itself, does not appear to be accessible to conscious reflection (Milroy and Milroy 1990:280). For example, see Emile YX?'s comments during our interview (Appendix A lines 218-223):

EMILE YX?: So I think maybe it's connected to that whole, like, history of things in Cape Town. And so, like, that just, they just stayed, like it's embedded in your mind if you speak this way you're not seen as being educated, you know, and so anyways I think it carried across. A lot of our Hip Hoppers perceive and think if you look at it now, you think it's still as it was. Like people don't perceive *gamtal* as anything more than a joke language. And majority of people in Cape Town speak that language.

Emile YX? passionately launches into an explanation of the disparaging stereotypes of Coloureds by South Africans he has experienced in other part of the country.

EMILE YX?: 'Cause Cape Town's, people's view of, Cape Town's view in Joburg, is very fucked up. You know, like when I go there, then they're like, "*Aweh, Ma se kinnes!*" [said with a deeper voice] ('Hi, mother's children!'). I'm like, "*Fok* ('fuck') you! Speak properly". Like, you know, they ... their assumption is that all Coloureds are this one version of what they think Coloureds are. Like, "Oh, is that your own front teeth?" You know, *kak* ('shit') like that. And I'm like ... but that's the only, like if I just saw Black people in this stupid role, every TV show, then I'd think that of them, you know? And so that whole, like, gangster *gedagte* ('mentality'), and like, ja, it's ... unless we have that platform, it's not gonna change. You know, like a national television show. I'm not talking about that "Coloured TV". That's *fokked* ('fucked') up! You know? 'Cause, you know, if there's a show about Coloured people it always leads to *fokken* ('fucking') comedy. I dunno why. But, like, if you look at Eastern Mosaic and all that shit, it's always more cultural content. And people get a sense of self-worth and pride because it's not talking down at them; it's actually celebrating their community, so ja, we need one of those, hey? And I'm not a TV producer, so I dunno how we're gonna get there. [Laughing] I thought the people ... I dunno when, hey (Appendix A lines 1145-1159)

He notes that in Johannesburg, in his experience, it is commonly perceived that all Cape Coloured people greet each other by saying *Aweh, ma se kinnes* ('Hi, mother's children'). The idea that all Coloured speakers have "that whole, like, gangster *gedagte*" (that is, that gangster mentality) is a falsehood that Emile YX? would like to change. He notes that Coloured TV, a show that airs on Cape TV, is more of the same stereotypical caricaturing of Coloured people. Instead, he would prefer a show that focussed on Coloured pride or, in the least, Coloured self-awareness.

The "gangster *gedagte*" or shameful stereotype that Emile YX? is trying to avoid is very vividly illuminated by Jitsvinger's verse in *Kom Khoisan (Kry Terug Jou Land)* ('Come Khoisan (Get Back Your Land)'):

JITSVINGER: Die gevoel is daar, ignorance loop in gevaar  
Broese cruise in Mercedes B's en vang bullets en sake  
Anne girl het 'n seun gebaar vroeg in haar teens  
Idolise TV en plaas haar hoop innie drugs

Die worst virus op computers is paedophiles  
 Wat laaties victimise vanaf 7 tot 10 jaar en ...  
 Townships is ill, police waentjies skarrel virrie kill  
 Die ... is aan die brand  
 Laat ons weet waar ons staan

(My translation:  
 The feeling is there, ignorance walks in danger  
 Brothers cruise in Mercedes B's catching bullets and cases  
 Another girl bore a son early in her teens  
 Idolises TV and places her hope in the drugs  
 The worst virus on computers are paedophiles  
 that victimize kids (young men) from 7 to 10 years, and  
 Townships are ill, police wagons go in quickly for the kill  
 The ... is on fire  
 So that we know where we stand)

Jitsvinger raises those shameful stereotypes and aspects of culture for which Coloured people have become notorious: young men involved in violent crime; drug abuse; teenage pregnancy and paedophilia. He gives the audience a strong dose of reality to illustrate that the roots that we have come from are not bearing fruit because the youth and their elders are not invested in the land they come from or who they are. It is part of knowledge of self to recognise areas of insecurity and to build yourself up through discipline and true reflection. Hence, this is also put into the perspective of the audience as part of the Kaaps lived experience.

It would seem that Emile YX? attempted to address these negative stereotypes in the songs *Ek Is* and *Kom Khoisan (Kry Terug Jou Land)*. He uses positive imagery to counter the negativity raised in this verse.

EMILE YX?: Kom Khoisan kry terug jou land  
 Coloureds kom van Khoisan verstand x2  
 Gwalla my, kyk hie, verstaan, die San behoort annie land  
 Land kannie gekoop word 'ie, so hou jou blierie rand  
 Gaan vra die Xhosa en die Zulu, wie was eerste hie  
 En die naam Xhosa ennie clicks het die Khoi an hulle gegie  
 wattakwaan in Khoe meen Xhosa "Angry looking man"  
 Elke click in isiXhosa is oorspronklik vannie San  
 "Boesman" en "Hotnot" is gebruik om te beledig  
 Maar orals staan die rotskuns nog stewig  
 Vir duisende jare, nie eens "Rockgrip" kan so makie  
 "Gods Must Be Crazy", ma'rie San issie vakie  
 Wie's jou dom darkie? Afrikaans kom vannie Kaap hie'  
 Nou word elke dag tweede nuwejaar gemaak hie'  
 Nie net vir 'n party of apart hie  
 Die menses sal hulself t'rug aan die land gie

elke sogenoemde ras gemix ou bra  
Ma daais o'right, ons is amal van Afrika ...

(My translation:  
Come Khoisan get back your land  
Coloureds come from Khoisan understanding (or mentality) x2  
Look here (or tell me this), understand the San belong to the land  
Land can't be bought, so keep your bloody Rand  
Go ask the Xhosa and the Zulu who was here first  
and the name Xhosa and the clicks the Khoi gave to them  
*wattakwaan* in Khoi means Xhosa "angry looking man"  
Every click in isiXhosa is originally from the San  
"Bushmen" and "Hotnot" were used to insult  
but everywhere the rock art still exists steadfastly  
for thousands of years, not even "Rockgrip" can do that  
The Gods Must Be Crazy,<sup>14</sup> but the San aren't tired (or asleep)  
Who's your "dumb darkie"?/ Afrikaans comes from the Cape, here!  
Now every day becomes second New Years' Day<sup>15</sup> made here!  
Not just for a party or apart, here!  
The people will give themselves back to the land.  
Here every so-called race is mixed, old brother (friend  
but that's alright. We are all from Africa ...)

Emile YX? begins by rooting the audience as he explains who the San are, that they belong to the land or earth or, more emphatically, that they belong to South Africa. South Africa or land or the earth cannot be bought, thus he demands that corporates as well as those members of government involved in the expropriation and repatriation of land in South Africa hang on to their money. The dislocation of people, as well as the dispossession of land, were themes central to the growth of South Africa as a supply station, colony and union. Therefore, by grounding the San as belonging to South Africa, Coloureds are bound to South Africa. The definition of "Coloured" in the Population Registration Act 39 of 1950 is "not a white person or a native" (Erasmus 2001:18, in Marco 2012:97), and "a native" is defined as "a person who is or is generally accepted as an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa" (Erasmus 2001:27, in Marco 2012:97). As *Afrikaaps* demonstrates the lineage of Kaaps, and therefore Coloured

<sup>14</sup> The film entitled *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, directed by Jamie Uys, was released in 1980. It is a comic allegory set in Botswana. It follows the story of Xi, a Sho of the Kalahari Desert, whose tribe has no knowledge of the world beyond the desert.

<sup>15</sup> *Tweede Nuwejaar* (Second New Year) is a day that is unique to Cape Town, that stems from practices associated with slavery and that has a history linked with the Coon Carnival. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Cape slaves were given a day off from their duties on 2 January every year. During this alternate New Year celebration, the slaves would dress up as minstrels and dance rhythmically to the sounds of banjos, guitars, *ghoema* drums, whistles, trombones and tubas. Today the tradition is continued with bands of minstrel troupes or *Kaapse Klopse* marching down Wale and Adderley Streets every year. "The parade is a rich tapestry of song, dance and costume, and music that takes the form of a procession through, and occupation of, the streets of Cape Town" (Fleishman 2015:167). *Tweede Nuwejaar* is a celebration of a community's survival. It illustrates the continuity between its past, present and future.

people, as coming from Khoi and San roots, Coloured people are said to indeed be “natives” and they thus “belong to the land”.

Emile YX? then continues to build a message of unity by noting that Kaaps and isiXhosa have the same linguistic ancestors – Khoi: “and the name Xhosa and the clicks the Khoi gave to them / *wattakwaan* in Khoi means Xhosa ‘angry looking man’ / Every click in isiXhosa is originally from the San” This message of Black Consciousness is important to promulgate since Apartheid worked well because it divided Black people. “Black Consciousness realised that the most effective tool against racism as a force was Black solidarity. As a starting point then, Black Consciousness redefined ‘Black’ as a racial marker to include all South Africans on the receiving end of historical discrimination grounded in race” (Gqola 2013:12). Thus Emile YX? uses black self-redefinition to include Coloured. The redefinition of “Black” was crucial to toppling the Apartheid power structure which was primarily based on race. It continues to be a crucial topic to the redefining of South Africans’ identities as they grapple with racism and the after-effects of Apartheid.

Emile YX? mentions that the derogatory names Bushman and *Hotnot* are used to insult Coloured people. However, regardless of these names, rock art endures for centuries throughout Southern Africa (there are some sites dating back over 2000 years). Once again, he silences the insulting connotation of a Bushmen or Hottentot as second class citizens, by affirming to the longevity and perseverance of the San and Khoi, as the original inhabitants of South Africa. He jokes that not even Rockgrip paint is steadfast enough to last centuries.

Finally Emile YX? opines that the San are aware of the way they were caricatured and thus ridiculed by the movie *The Gods Must Be Crazy*: “they are not asleep or tired”. The Kaaps expression *om vaak te wees* means “to be dull or simple-minded”. By writing this line, Emile thus includes the San as being aware of the fact that they were taken advantage of as the original people of South Africa. The racial slur *dom darkie* (‘dumb dardie’) was used to refer to people of colour as being stupid. Therefore Emile YX? enquires from the audience about laughing at the racist film, simultaneously stating that he is aware of their racist portrayal of the San people and asking how they can still believe the San to be dumb when Afrikaans comes from the Cape, from these so-called dumb people.

His play on the English “party” which sounds similar to the Kaaps *apart hie* (‘apart here’) shows the similarity of sound but also the juxtaposition of the concept of ‘Apartheid’ and the continued celebration of *Tweede Nuwejaar* which came from the slave era at the Cape. He

thus demonstrates the linguistic mixture of English and Kaaps the Cape is known for. Emile YX?'s aim with this verse is to re-entrench the idea that by celebrating the origins of Kaaps and people at the Cape, people will rededicate themselves to nation building in South Africa. By highlighting the idea that everyone is mixed, it emphasises the idea that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, just as Afrikaans belongs to all who speak it. Like Blaq Pearl in *Ek Is*, he re-affirms the ancestry of everyone as African.

As can be seen in the various examples above, Coloured shame tends to sprout from a number of perceptions about citizenship, self-worth and ownership of culture, language and property. The analysis of the research as reflected in the production and interview data would not be complete without some discussion and observations on the role of hybridity and marginality.

### 5.5 Hybridity and marginality

“If one accepts Bakhtin’s view that social life is fundamentally a multivoiced phenomenon – that there exists a polyphony of voices at any given moment – then meaning must exist in a kind of dynamic tension, at least between the denotation and the connotation” (Bhatt 2008:182). Bhatt (2008:178) refers to linguistic hybridity as “the third space” which opens the possibilities for new meanings while simultaneously presenting a way to exchange and traverse between a global identity and local practices. It also allows its readers to re-situate themselves with regard to new community practices of speaking and writing; in the case of *Afrikaaps*, it creates counter-discourses to the hegemony of standard South African English and Standard Afrikaans.

The following excerpt from *Ek Is* demonstrates Bliksemstraal’s hybrid identity as a performer.

BLIKSEMSTRAAL: Ek is ‘n Rasta man  
 Ek is ‘n argitekbek  
 Met my bek praat ek alles  
 En ek vriet spanspek  
 Ek is ‘n BBoy  
 Ek is goed in balans  
 Ek is binne in ‘n trans  
 Ek gan die poppe laat dans

(My translation:  
 I’m a Rasta man  
 I’m an mouth architect

With my mouth I talk about everything  
And I eat sweet melon  
I'm a Bboy  
I'm in good balance  
I'm in a trance  
I'm going to make the dolls dance (I'm going to cause trouble))

Bliksemtstraat notes that he is a “Rasta man”, and he makes a grand show of this line by removing his costume hat to reveal his dreadlocks. He references the movement of Rastafari and his following of the Rastafari way of life. This means that he rejects the degenerate society of materialism, oppression, and sensual pleasures. He asserts himself as an *argitekbek* (‘architect mouth’). *Bek* refers to the mouth of an animal; however it is commonly used in Kaaps to refer to a human mouth. The term *argitekbek* was created with this production of *Afrikaaps* (see first print in the newspaper *Die Burger*, Steinmair 12 April 2010). It references these performers as not only speakers of the production, but also the designers of a new home for Afrikaaps word of mouth. I think it is bold to announce yourself as such a person, but that is part of the entertainment and advocacy of the production. He notes that he talks everything with his mouth, but also that he talks about everything from his platform as an *argitekbek*.

It is interesting that he mentions *spanspek* ('sweet melon'), as it is one of the first Afrikaaps words rumoured to have been created by the slaves who worked in the kitchen of Sir Harry Smith, governor of the Cape in 1850. Smith was married to a Spanish woman, and during their sojourn in the Cape, Lady Smith insisted on fresh sweet melon for breakfast rather than the more traditional bacon and eggs. Because of her Spanish origins, the kitchen staff at the governor's residence started referring to this as *Spaanse spek* ('Spanish bacon'), which later evolved into *spanspek* (Gondwana Collection Namibia. n.d.). By including this Kaaps neologism, he demonstrates the innovation that brought Kaaps into being. Here, no suitable Kaaps word existed to describe this fruit, hence the slaves created one to serve their purposes.

Bliksemstraal continues to use a base or common form of Kaaps by saying *ek vriet* (from *vreet*) which means “to eat” but is mainly used when referring to animals eating. In fact, when I think back on first-language Afrikaans experience at high school, I had to relearn that *bek* and *vreet* were not to be used to refer to people. I believe that it is a common way of speaking for most Kaaps speakers. The words *mond* (‘mouth’) and *eet* (‘eat’) are known but are only used when speaking *egte* (‘real’) or *suiwer* (‘pure’) Afrikaans.



Bliksemstraal demonstrates his self-knowledge by re-appropriating words that inform his hybridised identity. He plays on the fact that he is a “BBoy”. This means he is a break-boy, a dancer who lives the culture of Hip Hop by expressing himself through various technical and gymnastic moves and balances or freezes to breakbeats or Hip Hop music. And so a pun follows with the line *ek is in goed balans* (‘I am well balanced’). He shows that he balances all facets of himself – Rasta, *argitekbek* and BBoy.

The following line may seem confusing: *ek is binne in ‘n trans*. He notes that he is in a trance; however, I think he is alluding to his state of mind when he enters the cipa<sup>16</sup> as a BBoy. Here, he is required to show off his musicality and dancing skills in a short combination of steps and balances to the beat of the music. Ciphas are the training grounds of both BBoys and emcees. In the South African context, two or more languages are used in rap ciphaz to convey information of place, identity, rap style and interaction with the audience in ciphaz or rap battles (Williams and Stroud 2010:40).

In BBoy ciphaz, moves have to be new, considered, and an expression of the music he is listening to, every time he steps into the cipa. Many BBoys understand that this is a space where your mind is clear and the music takes over your body. This is very similar to the Khoi dancing culture which often included shamans in trance states who would communicate with nature. In this way, Bliksemstraal’s verse reconnects the audience not only to their current theatre space for performing, but also to the broader referenced space of the outdoors, the Cape in 1652. Thus, he enhances the stage design as described above. The lyric *Ek gan die poppe laat dans* (‘I’m going to let the dolls dance’) means that he is going to cause trouble. When taken all together, the idea of Bliksemstraal’s verse is that he is the master of his own destiny. Here, Bliksemstraal specifically constructs his identity around Hip Hop as discussed by Williams and Stroud (2010:47) when performing rap ciphaz in Cape Town.

Flow, or process, takes into account how being and doing makes us feel in time. They are dynamic perspectives, whereas semiotic accounts are aoristic – they take a stance which stands outside of time. Phenomenological accounts saliently include affect, which semiotic accounts rarely do (Lemke 2008:29). Flow, maybe not in the way Lemke intends it, is

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<sup>16</sup> *Ciphaz* are “speech events” or “innovative formats for battles” (the ritual of rhyming is informed by the physical arrangement of Hip Hop). The concept is essential to Hip Hop Culture and to its vernacular” (Alim 2006:98) It is an event during which emcees or rappers challenge one another and thereby develop their skills in “rap delivery, reacting under pressure, verbal battling (including rhyming and beatboxing – using your mouth to imitate various other sounds or instruments) or ‘jousting from the mouth’” (Alim 2006:98).



essential in Hip Hop for building a rapport with an audience as well as establishing an emcee's identity with his following. The rhythm to which he raps and the sound quality of his voice along with his lyrical choice all influence the attractiveness and power or the resonance with his audience. It is essentially the rapper's skill in stringing various concepts together with clever onomatopoeia as well as rhyme and references to popular culture and current affairs that determines a rapper's skilfulness and appeal. As Lemke (2008:29) points out,

the use of language which more effectively conveys phenomenological experiences are narrative and poetic efforts to create blends and shades of meaning which may be unique rather than to instance typical and familiar meanings with well-known contrasts and associations. In visual media, the semiotic is represented best by the monological and definite abstract diagram or graph, the phenomenological by the emotive and polysemic work of visual art.

This quotation is especially apt when considering the multilayered performance and production of *Afrikaaps*. It included not only live music, singing, dancing, acting, rapping and poetry, but the stage itself was a canvas of ever-moving art. It included projections of video documentary type footage, interviews, pictures of historical texts and visited historical sites. All these were embedded into the performance every night to ensure that the audience was stimulated in every way possible. The audience was encouraged to participate as far as possible by clapping, singing along or cheering or booing various aspects within the production. As such, the moment-to-moment experience was not the same each evening as it depended on the crowd as much as the performers. Therefore, new meaning was made every night by revisiting the various pre-prepared texts and musical items which opened the performance to constant reiteration and reinforcing what each audience deemed most important, enjoyable or noteworthy.

As Jethro's verse will show, the *Afrikaaps* performance becomes a hybridised experience of genres of music blending together, including Reggae, Jazz, *Ghoema*, along with Hip Hop.

JETHRO: Die taal is gekoop in ons slaap  
 Nou vat ons 'n stap met Afrikaaps  
 Om dit terug te vat  
 Vra ma' net die kat [Bliksemstraal]  
 Want met passie en emosie  
 Is die taal van vol  
 Die klinkers laat die tonge rol  
 Die rhythm van die ghoema  
 Het die plek op hol  
 Dit bring Krotoa en Autshaumoa terug in nie kol

Want ons dans al in die rondte soos 'n dikkop tol.  
Kaart en transport...

(My translation:  
This language was bought in our sleep  
Now we're taking a step with Afrikaaps / to take it back  
just ask this cat, Bliksemstraat  
Because passion and emotion / the language is filled with  
the vowels makes the tongues roll  
the rhythm from the *ghoema* has this place jumping  
It brings Krotoa and Autshaumoa back into the spotlight  
because we're dancing all around like a thick head top  
card and transport)

This type of lyricism, infusing current affairs with references to cultural concepts typical of the *Kaapse Klopse* music tradition, brings to light the ancestry of mixedness within the Coloured community, thereby highlighting those traits that keep them separate from the historically White Afrikaans history. Martin (2013:295) notes that

musical creation in the Mother City, and in South Africa, has always been nurtured by contacts, exchanges and innovations whatever the efforts made by racist powers to separate and divide people according to their origin. Musicians interviewed at the dawn of the 21st century confirm that mixture and blending characterise all Cape Town's musics (author's inclusion of the "s" to make it plural). They also emphasise the importance of a rhythmic pattern particular to Cape Town, the *ghoema* beat, whose origins are obviously mixed. The study of music demonstrates that the history of Cape Town, and of South Africa as a whole, undeniably fostered creole societies.

This quote bears witness to the fact that every aspect of Coloured being is infused with mixedness. This could also be true of Hip Hop in Cape Town and South Africa in that very specific House and Kwaito beats, own to South Africa, are mixed over bass and drums synonymous with that of Hip Hop culture. (See Black Noise's music video *Dis 'n Cape Flats Ding* ('It's a Cape Flats thing') for an example of one of these many fusions.)

Erasmus proposes that new ways need to be found to change the racist perceptions of and associations with the term "Coloured" as well as with the identity. In opposition to this view, Hip-Hoppers like Brasse vannie Kaap, Godessa and Prophets of da City explicitly negate the term because of the problematic discourses around the creation of the identity, through Apartheid, and then the stereotypes of drunkenness, drug abuse and gangsterism, among others, that are all creations of White supremacy. For them, the language of "Colouredness" is irredeemably contaminated with shame and the stereotypes listed above, and it is the language of Black Consciousness that frees (Marco 2012:15).

For Adhikari (2005, in Devarenne 2014:397), the idea of mixedness is itself tainted by anxieties about miscegenation: “the common characterization of Coloured people as ‘mixed-race’ – which presupposes the prior existence of ‘pure races’ and their ‘mixture’ to be unnatural and undesirable or even pathological”. I think the best meaning of “pathological” here is “extreme in a way that is not normal or that indicates an illness or mental problem”. This pathological mentality is deep-seated in the Coloured subconscious, and is evidenced by several earlier writers’ explorations of this very theme and echoed in the students’ comments during the performance of *Afrikaaps*. Stone conducted a study on working class Afrikaans-speaking Coloured community between 1963 and 1991. This research confirmed that they speak “a dialect that is a marker of the community’s identity, which is also reflected in endogamy, ties of descent, kinship, preferential voluntary association, and shared residential areas, both voluntary and enforced” (Stone 1995:277). Stone introduces Coloured identity, in broad terms, as part of a national system of communal identity formation whose poles are “black” and “white”. He quotes Turner (1969, in Stone 1995:277) who regards Coloured identity as “intermediate, paradoxical, anomalous, deracinated and liminal in South African society”. Adhikari thus builds on this notion of ‘subconscious shame’ that is central to the experience of Coloured people generationally.

This ties in with the idea that we may be able to code-shift our identity performances because we have substantial competence in more than one culture and its identity repertoire, or we may just inherit or have acquired portions of total packages (Lemke 2008:19). In fact, Walcott (1997:98, in Pennycook 2004:16) demonstrates that for Black diasporic cultures since the time of slavery, this was a necessity for people of colour to understand when to perform certain aspects of their identity while withholding others. “Black people in the Americas have had an immediate relationship to identity and identification as twin acts which constitute performativity. This stems from the ways in which slavery produced spaces for particular forms of identity, identifications and disidentifications. Being forced to perform for the master in a number of different ways meant that a relationship to identity for diasporic Black people manifested itself as something that could be invented, revised and discarded when no longer useful” (Walcott 2003:75).

It is interesting to note that in the documentary (Valley 2010), pianist Kyle Shepherd notes that the *ghoema* music style is seen as the “stepchild” of South African jazz. He notes that the connotations of playing this style of jazz is seen as less virtuosic, more folk, and outside of the realm of a professional, serious musician. It is interesting to note the similarities between

the perceptions and history of this creolised style of music in relation to that of Kaaps. Martin (2013:354) notes that

playing the *ghoema* beat and alluding to the *ghoema* cluster of sounds can be used to reinforce the social power of music. Because it is rooted in the long history of the under privileged classes of a melting-pot city, *ghoema* and the *ghoema* beat sound like the sweet revenge of those who have long been oppressed and held in contempt.

The *ghoema* beat gains legitimacy from being used in all sorts of musical contexts, including jazz. It also gains legitimacy from being deemed as the founding element of the most representative song genre of the Western Cape due to the fact that it is performed by an African choir, which transforms it into a tool for building self-esteem and self-confidence, therefore empowering disadvantaged groups as well. Playing the *ghoema* beat and talking about *ghoema* reveals aspects of history that have been concealed for a long time and contribute to reconstructing memories that nurture new or renewed senses of belonging.

Tied into the theme of hybridity and marginality is the code-switching or mixed code debate that arises when discussing Kaaps. Although bilingual speech occurs across the Afrikaans-English speech community (irrespective of ethnic origin), its realisation in Cape Town's Coloured working-class community (including the Cape Flats and Bo-Kaap) can be considered to be sociolinguistically unique (Deumert 2005:118).

Whereas the path from (heavy) borrowing to mixed languages is gradual and linear, the path from code-switching to mixed languages might well be relatively abrupt (i.e. emergence within one or two generations) and does not appear to be linear in the same way. This was noted by Backus (2003:237, 240) who has argued that there is a fundamental conceptual problem with Auer's (1999) original suggestion of a linear continuum from code-switching to mixed language: "stable mixed languages look like extremely dense insertional codeswitching (in which an embedded language is inserted into a matrix language utterance); yet, the situation of intense language contact from which they may be assumed to result, tend to produce much alternational [codeswitching] (where the switch is at a clause or a sentence boundary) [...] For mixed lects to become Mixed Languages, therefore, they must lose what I will call their 'alternational component'".

It is strange that NIE-2 construction was accepted as a characteristic of Standard Afrikaans (Grebe 2009:133) even though it had relatively low frequency in usage when compared to the diminutive morpheme which has no direct link to any Dutch varieties, but was accepted into

Standard Afrikaans. The Dutch influence of the *t(j)* variant was no longer felt but still associated with the Coloured racial group on the edges of the broader speech community. Moreover, this group did not count on the aspirations for nationalism of the Afrikaner. Therefore those variants had to sound their retreat (Grebe 2009:137). “Standard Afrikaans today is a construction to be attributed to language entrepreneurs who strove for a unique South African identity towards the end of the nineteenth and early 20th century” (Grebe 2009:128).

I agree with Grebe who states that Afrikaans cannot convincingly be attributed to an assumption of one basic underlying dialect. Rather, it may be assumed that the interaction between the different varieties of the spoken and written language were sometimes of decisive importance for the creation of a standardised language form. There was conscious bustling about a true identity by sometimes going against the Dutch norm. Sometimes there was also “a line drawn” to avoid “impurities”. However, I disagree with Grebe in his closing statement that “yet Standard Afrikaans remains (in the words of Jan Rabie) as the only true product of successful, racial cooperation in South Africa” (Grebe 2009:137).

This is clear from his analysis of the voting process for deciding on the Standard Afrikaans diminutive, as well as the decision to include NIE-2 in Afrikaans even though it was not a spoken norm at the time. It is also evident from his analysis that a racial scapegoating the people associated with the *t(j)* form added to the effort to sever all possible language ties between Afrikaans and Dutch, which further fanned the flames of looking down upon the “creole Bo-Kaap Malay Community. The northern pronunciation variant gained more strength because the Boland variant with the *t(j)* was even further stigmatised and brought mistakenly in relation with more putative creole influence that wasn’t consistent with the strong worded racial purist ideals of Afrikaner nationalism” (Grebe 2009:137). There was no cooperation from speakers of the Kaaps Hollandse Vernacular to argue for or against the inclusion of the *t(j)* form into the language. This was decided by a body of majority White Afrikaners who were already planning a segregationist existence by using Afrikaans to forge a (White) Nationalist identity. Hence, Grebe’s final statement is incorrect. This is also clear from the following quotation that subjectively, “lower” words were removed to avoid impurities: “*Soms is daar ook wel ‘laer getrek’ ten einde ‘onsuiwerhede’ te vermy*” (Grebe 2009:137) (‘At times “ranks were however closed” in order to avoid “impurities”’). These

impurities were based on the opinions of Afrikaners who decided whether the Kaaps Hollandse Vernacular words were acceptable or too “ethnic” for inclusion.

## Chapter 6

### Discussion and Conclusion

After reviewing the data above, I think it is necessary to summarise the main points raised in order to further discuss how these contribute to sociolinguistic concepts of performance, stylisation and identity. These points will be useful in the ensuing discussion of Richard Rive's critique on Kaaps at the 1985 Black Writer's Symposium as presented in Devarenne's work (2014). Ultimately the discussion concludes with a look at the success of the *Afrikaaps* production in furthering: our understanding of sociolinguistic concepts, reaching its audience, and presenting an alternate "birth" story for Kaaps and therefore Afrikaans.

Stylisation was a recurring theme in the data – in particular was the *ghoema* style or sound that was captured in the music of Kyle Shepherd, lyrics and vocal affectations of Moenier. The first song *Ek Is* is the perfect example of the use of stylisation to, at once, place the audience in a familiar locale (Cape Town) while shockingly re-appropriating the familiarity with strategic inauthenticity. Moenier in the year 2010 speaking back to the "Dutch sailor boy" in the song is anachronistic and inconsistent with the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the "Dutch sailor boy" would have been Moenier's slave master and no talking back would have been tolerated. As Emile YX? noted in his interview, the usual musical association with *ghoema*, Cape Malay Choirs, and Kaaps is that it is a funny variety used by Coloured people for composing funny songs in a genre of mixed music styles.

*Afrikaaps* demonstrates agentive dimension of stylisation. Moenier's performance highlight the intelligence of the *ghoema* lyricists to share historical and cultural information in their popular songs while incorporating instruments, rhythms and melodies to produce a new sound. Thus the wealth of lyrical content and musical genres so well blended challenges the audience's initial association with the history and image of *ghoema* music, and so too that of Kaaps. The audience then understands Kaaps as a complex language variety influenced by many people and originating in Cape Town, just as the music did.

The audience is a co-constructor of the performance, and so is part of the identity-making process. They enhance the performance nightly, and over more time through various discussion groups, press conferences and lecturing platforms the cast and crew engaged in. When these various pre-prepared texts and musical items are revisited each time, there is constant reiteration and reinforcing of what each audience deemed most important, enjoyable

or noteworthy – in this way concretising the essence of what *Afrikaaps* is, but also making it available for alteration since every performance was a chance to add or change a part of the production by the audience and cast by affirming what they recognise, enjoy, disregard, distrust, etc.

This illustrates Pennycook's (2004:3) two suggestions: firstly, that sociolinguists not approach languages as pre-given entities or objects to be studied (instead they should view languages as products of a mode of study) and, secondly, that the process of forming languages is deeply embedded within colonial projects of knowledge formation. The co-construction of identities in the process of performing and viewing *Afrikaaps* results in the re-appropriation of former Coloured identities thus demonstrating their (the audience's and cast's) agency in conquering colonial constructs of identity.

As demonstrated by the literature, music, the *Afrikaaps* production, as well as by the lived experiences of Emile YX? and the other cast members, Hip Hop offers speakers of Kaaps not only the opportunity of self-expression, but also the space to forge a new self. Since language and identity are inseparable concepts, by embracing Kaaps and its origins, Coloured speakers of Kaaps can finally claim that they are truly South African, and hence perform their African aspects of their identities. Blaq Pearl demonstrates both the Hip Hop aspect of self-knowledge and Butler's theory of applying known aspects of identity to an improvised setting in order to forge a new identity or strengthen an already existing one by wearing a headscarf at the start of the production. She simultaneously thus acknowledges her Khoi ancestry, and notes its influence or similarity to the Xhosa tradition of women's dress. It also calls out to Muslim women who arrived in Cape Town as slaves during the same period of time. As demonstrated above, her choice to remove the headscarf a short time later in the production is another reference to the pride by association the contemporary Coloured woman has in her understanding of her appearance and identity in the world today, as represented by her hair (or lack thereof).

The linguistic and identity hybridity that is embodied in the example of Blaq Pearl above encourages a positive societal judgment of Kaaps. Devarenne's (2014) work entitled *The language of Ham and the language of Cain: Dialect and linguistic hybridity in the work of Adam Small* proved to be a useful source for analysing the negative societal judgment of Kaaps as "other", while it also raises the stereotypes and scapegoating that speakers of Kaaps have experienced. I believe that Richard Rive's questions about Kaaps at the 1985



Symposium for Black Afrikaans Writers are useful for reviewing *Afrikaaps* as a successful platform for highlighting the history and contribution of the dialect to what is known as “Standard Afrikaans”. This symposium was a unique gathering of writers and, like *Afrikaaps*, it was an act of heterochrony (Lemke 2008:25): a meaningful human action that is at the intersection of processes and practices which have inherently different timescales. The timescale of deciding whether writing in Kaaps was beneficial for Afrikaans as a whole would have a dramatic impact on future writers of Kaaps (or a lack thereof, as history has shown). These considerations were to be weighed against speakers of Kaaps at that time who, in 1985, did not have much literature in Kaaps available to them, nor did they have the numbers to voice that their opposition to Apartheid was not to be confused with the expression of themselves in their use of the Kaaps. Both the Black Writers Symposium and the *Afrikaaps* production brought the old consistencies of identity or stereotypes of Kaaps and imposed them over the current lived identities in order to breed new conversation and hence a site for new identity creation. This plays into the poignancy of the launch date of *Afrikaaps*, which coincided with the funeral of Eugene Terreblanche (see below).

Prior to *Afrikaaps*, the Black influence on Afrikaans was denied, or (at most) recognised as a secondary contributing factor, whereas the history and an unprejudiced glance at events show how Afrikaans as we know it mainly originated as a consequence of Black influence. The vernacular version of Afrikaans, Kaaps (the name which Small coined circa 1974 (Stone 1995:280)), as it first developed at the Cape, had undergone several influences and changes based not only on the necessity of its creation, but also due to the ongoing political changes at the Cape colony. Small was thoroughly aware of the stigmatisation the language faced and strongly spoke out against it. To him, it was a full language in its own right. According to Blignaut (2014:4), it is especially Small’s use of Kaaps in his literature that helped to establish Kaaps in Afrikaans literature and to bring about a newfound interest in this dialect. (For a more detailed discussion on the features of Kaaps, see Chapter 2.)

Alexander (see Appendix B) propounds the idea that, should this not have been the case, most certainly the systematic extermination of the aboriginal (or native or indigenous) people would have taken place, as is indicative of other colonies contemporaneously in creation, for example, Australia and America. In his estimation, the debate about whether Afrikaans is a Dutch-based creole or a Dutch dialect is just another reflection of humanity’s Philistine preoccupation with race. He argues that “if it is creole, the decisive contribution to the development of the language would have to be acknowledged as being that of the non-

European segment of its mother tongue speakers and, vice versa, that of its mother tongue speakers of European descent, if it is a dialect of Dutch that has been lightly influenced by contact with languages of African and Asian provenance” (Alexander in Appendix B). This confusion in origin has benefitted the Nationalist movement of the South African Republic, since failing to lay claim to the ownership of Afrikaans has left its very creators in positions of inferiority due to power dynamics within the groups of people governing and living in South Africa.

It is from this perspective that I believe Rive’s questions at the Black Writer’s Symposium of 1985 should be considered with regard to the success of the *Afrikaaps* production in re-trenching a new identity for Kaaps speakers. He questions, firstly, whether Kaaps is genuine, that is, whether the written form exists in a spoken dialect. Secondly, he asks whether Kaaps contributes to a work’s literary value and if this contribution is to the “thematic” or “stylistic” dimensions. Finally, Rive also investigated whether Kaaps is used to advocate “coloured separatism”<sup>17</sup> (Devarenne 2014:139). Rive concludes that Kaaps only succeeds in bolstering group recognition and propounding “the acceptance of Colouredism in the face of strong anti-racism” (Devarenne 2014:139). However, this stance needs to be understood in the political climate of the time.

At the time, Coloured and Black writers went largely unacknowledged during Apartheid. As Devarenne (2014:391) explains, “Coloured intellectuals during Apartheid attributed the lack of Coloured literary tradition to their exclusion from hegemonic discourses or practices”. The control and cruelty of the Apartheid (in other words: White, Afrikaner) government, who according to Devarenne (2014:391) “damned the language and literature by association”, meant the dominance of certain variants of Afrikaans in addition to restricted entrance to schools and limited literacy for Coloured people. Small fell prey to the same ailment that most Coloured people were accused of, namely being an apologist for apartheid. It would seem that their inability to separate their Afrikaansness from their racial identity meant that a particular reading of their work, i.e. an apologetic stance, was the only one possible. As Rive claimed, “there is a tone of apology rather than challenge in Kaaps writing” (Devarenne 2014:392). However, this was the reading popularised by scholars at the time. In the more

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<sup>17</sup> “Coloured separatists troubled the antiapartheid movement because of their political conservatism, compliance with apartheid taxonomy, and refusal to acknowledge shared political interests with other oppressed groups” (Devarenne 2014:391).

recent opinions of Small's work, several authors (including Grebe and Devarenne) have read his works as a subversion of the Apartheid government.

In more recent times, this apologist association between Apartheid and writing or rhyming in Afrikaans has been furthered by resistance of conscious Hip Hop artists in their choice to rap and produce in English. This reiterates McCormick's point that today, to the detriment of the growth of Kaaps, English is increasingly seen as the language of assent. It also appeals to a larger global audience in terms of the Rap community as investigated by Pennycook (2004). However, it does not detract from these artists' ability to create meaning and provide a different voice, thus also a new identity, for Kaaps.

On further review of Rive's criticism, it appears that the understanding of language has come full circle. Today, audiences seek out characters that are recognisable due to their voices and personalities. It is necessary that, through language, people are able to build a rapport with the characters in a story. While it is possible to do so without using the character's dialect, the character becomes less interesting and inauthentic to a reader since the lack of requisite slang, colloquialisms and expressions would leave the character flat, two dimensional, and devoid of life experience – exactly the traits that attract readers to or repel them from a particular story. The point is that there should be spaces for all types of voices within literature. Using a particular voice does not necessarily value that voice over another, unless that is the writer's intention. *Afrikaaps* demonstrates the role of an audience in participating in and providing meaning for a performance, separate from what the producers and actors intended to create. Every night, different crowds were reached, and they added to the uniqueness of each performance by clapping, booing or remaining silent, as various aspects of the production resonated or conflicted with them.

As in *Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe*, when the various voices of the main character elucidate the audience's understanding of his own identity crisis as played out through his language, one should be able to. This is one's most intimate or authentic self. In this regard, consider Rive's (1985, in Devarenne 2014:391) statement that there are "more than sufficient poems in Afrikaans which more vigorously put forward a similar viewpoint without having to resort to a dialect". Expressing oneself as a writer or person in one's dialect is not a tactic or countermeasure, as Rive insinuates with his use of "resort" in this quote. Writers use various means to appeal to a variety of audiences. That use of a particular dialect to gain an immediate rapport with an audience may be critical to the success of any writer's work. In

other words, audiences immediately identify with characters or situations depending on the language in which they are presented. As such, people recognise themselves in characters and stories, thus they empathise, sympathise or have apathy for the character who writes, speaks or behaves like themselves.

If I were to apply Rive's critique of Small to the *Afrikaaps* production, it would in fact fail. Rive's third criticism was that writing in the vernacular would advocate "coloured separatism" which brought with it an air of racial exclusivity. Since *Afrikaaps* advocates Coloured pride or consciousness in being founders (pioneers even) and contributors to a language that was to become Standard Afrikaans, the aim is to show that not only was Kaaps a point of pride, but so too is isiXhosa (as can be seen in Jits' performance of *Koerantman* ('Newspaper Man') where the cast take turns imagining what the original Khoi language would sound like by adding clicks to the Afrikaans words we know originated from Khoi). The show aims to highlight the influence of the original Khoi language that continues in living languages spoken today, just as these sounds were first made centuries ago when they were first transferred from Khoi to the languages we know and use as surviving within South Africa today. Ultimately, Rive's criticism is of no use for judging *Afrikaaps* as encouraging "coloured separatism" since Kaaps encourages the forging of a relationship between two major racial groups, namely Coloured speakers of Kaaps and Black speakers of isiXhosa, based on a shared linguistic heritage. Rive went further to suggest that there should "be safeguards against too much localisation" (in other words prevention against the fostering of dialects) since this could result in "insularity" (Rive 1985, in Devarenne 2014:390).

Essentially, Rive wanted to ensure there was no formalisation of Kaaps in writing. Such formalisation would result in people who were knowledgeable about Kaaps being the only ones able to propagate material and enjoy such publications. While Rive's argument is important to bear in mind, especially in respect of the song (*Ons Maak 'It) Legal* in *Afrikaaps*, he was foolish to think that this had not been done already. As McCormick's research pointed out, in 1877 the *Bayaan-ud-diyin*, an important Islamic text, was written by Abubakr Effendi in Arabic Afrikaans. He used an Arabic orthography to mimic the sounds of Afrikaans in order to publish it for Afrikaans-speaking Muslims to appreciate (Van Rensburg et al. 1997:16, in McCormick 2006:97). I believe that, in 1985, had Kaaps been perceived as a contact language that fostered growth in two language groups via transference of sounds and vocabulary and thus a shared linguistic heritage, the approach to its use as a language of

subjugation would have been vehemently resisted on a more racially united front, thus easing tension levels and stimulating cooperation and mutual empathy.

In addition, while unity in opposition against the Apartheid government came to be the key in staging resistance and ultimately affecting change within governance, it cannot be definitively stated that group recognition is a negative characteristic of Coloured writing, as Rive suggests. If one looks at the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement in the United States and Africa, group pride fostered an identity that was filled with hope and fuelled resistance against the homogenous South Africa that White Afrikaners were keen to entrench. As we will see in the discussion below, many artists describe their arrival at understanding of their “Black” or “other” identity as a result of the Black Consciousness Movement. Writers like Small and indeed those of *Afrikaaps* want to bring attention to a group that was born of racial intermingling and subsequent racist policies. They seek recognition for a living, thriving part of the South African population, one that, in fact, embodies the history of our country through their varied lineage and shared language of Kaaps – thereby promulgating Black Consciousness by using Black self-redefinition to include Coloured, as Emile YX? suggested. Perhaps one of the most vivid reminders of our chequered history in South Africa is the population known as Coloured or mixed race. Adhikari (2005, in Devarenne 2014) notes that Coloured people have not constituted more than about nine percent of the South African population during the 20th century. This means that, as a population group, Coloured people face a significant lack of socio-political and economic power, and are thus marginalised within South African society (paraphrased from Devarenne 2014:396). Erasmus (2001:16, in Marco 2012:98) writes that “coloured identities are not simply Apartheid labels imposed by whites. They are made and re-made by coloured people themselves in their attempts to giving meaning to their everyday lives”.

The reason for this position of ambiguity in society stems from the relative privilege Coloured people had in relation to Black people, and relative disadvantage to White people, during Apartheid, which exacerbated the feeling of alienation from the country and their language as a whole. This ambivalence to resistance is the reason for the slow joining of resistance groups against the Apartheid government between colour groups including Black and Coloured, once again demonstrating the construct of Apartheid permeating the everyday lives and identities of all of South Africa’s people. *Ek is Afrikaaps* (‘I am Afrikaaps’), as the lyrics indicate, is true for each of these performers. They have demonstrated through their

verses how the language forms an integral part of who they are as individuals experiencing life in South Africa today.

The *Afrikaaps* production lends itself to further analysis and discussion: however, the scope of this mini-thesis does not allow for this. In future, it would be interesting to observe the effect of *Afrikaaps* to inspire discussion, consciousness and education outreach activities that have been taken on by the cast and crew within the broader Kaaps-speaking community. It would also be an interesting study to interview the remaining performers on their perceptions and performances of Kaaps in their day-to-day interactions. Of course, the debate about whether Kaaps is a mixed code and whether it could be “legalised” may be taken further with more in-depth research.

Lemke (2008:29) notes that we are still a long way from knowing how to integrate the knowing of narrative poetry and art with that of analytical accounts of identity. My hope is that I demonstrated the highly agentic dimension of stylisation as a tool for re-appropriation and re-entrenchment of identity. The audience plays an ongoing role in the co-construction of identity since they either accept or reject the authenticity of the performance. This therefore means that language itself is not an object but a product of study, to confirm Pennycook’s suggestion. I would add that *Afrikaaps* recognises that consistent study and performance produces language. The Hip Hop principle of self-knowledge was a good vehicle for exploring Kaaps as a language of pride, as a true African language, and so too elevating the speakers of Kaaps.

*Afrikaaps* provided the platform for breaking ground in revealing (while also elevating and affirming) the Black, Coloured, creole, untold contribution and innovation to an ever-evolving language and making the language open for all to use once again. This is particularly evident in the discussion of hybridity and marginality, especially when investigating connotations with the Kaaps variety. I think *Afrikaaps* was a means to manifest Butler’s theory of the reiteration of performance to form identity into a medium for the consumption and realisation of the majority of Kaaps speakers: that, by speaking Kaaps, people will know who they are as Kaaps is a means of reinforcing that the speakers own its history and its various transformations are due to their actions. Thus they should enjoy and encourage everyday speaking of the language in every possible context – people should live themselves out speaking Kaaps to solidify and continue to innovate their identities.

Indeed, the cast broke ground, popularising a movement that instilled pride and consciousness in the history of their people, embracing both ancient traditions and using state-of-the-art technology to impart their message. However, the irony in terms of South African politics is that the first showing of the production took place on the day of the funeral of *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* ('Afrikaner Resistance Movement') leader and founder, Eugene Terreblanche (Thamm 2010). A major politician and supporter of South Africa's segregationist policies, known for branding the then opposition party of the African National Congress as Marxist terrorists, he received major backlash during the collapse of Apartheid for continuing to push his right-wing ideas. Thus it was apt that after the death march of so notorious a historical figure, there was a proclamation, with joyous celebration, of the heritage on which Afrikaners built much of their Nationalist movement.

I would, however, very proudly state that the celebration of Kaaps continued through social networking and contributions to the various discussion groups on Facebook, international performances of *Afrikaaps*, Khoi language classes being offered at the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town, and, ultimately, Nathan Trantaal winning the Ingrid Jonker Prize 2015 for his Kaaps poetry compilation, *Chokers en Survivors*.



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## Appendix A: Emile YX? Transcription

Interview with Emile YX? (also known as Emile L. Jansen)

- 1 J: K. This is the interview of Emile Jansen on 18 September 2012. [To Emile:] And once
- 2 again feel free to speak English or Afrikaans or Kaaps, or whatever. OK. Put that
- 3 there...[under her breath, putting dictaphone down] Firstly, in which area did you grow up or
- 4 where did you grow up?
- 5 E: I grew up right here in Grassy Park. So, I was actually. Put it this was the labour started
- 6 here and then they took me to ...I was born in um, where most of our communities' kids were
- 7 born back then... I think it was Saint Mary's, It was a hospital in District Six. I think that's the
- 8 name, I could be wrong. So I was born in District Six and then obviously brought home
- 9 afterwards to Grassy Park. So I spent like my whole life in this area, pretty much.
- 10 J: Ok [interjects] And you're still living here?
- 11 E: No, actually I moved, I moved to Muizenburg about two years ago. Ya, you can't force
- 12 Americans to live in Grassy Park... no, I'm kidding.
- 13 J: Don't worry, I have an American boyfriend and we lived in Silvertown for a couple of
- 14 weeks... Anyway. What language did your care-givers use at home?
- 15 E: A mixture but more like *suiwer* ('pure') Afrikaans. My mom is Afrikaans-speaking but she
- 16 reared us pretty much English-speaking because of the way people were thinking back then.
- 17 So she spoke to others like her sisters and brothers in the area in like a very *suiwer* ('pure')
- 18 version of Afrikaans. My dad is originally from Walmer Estate and, er, like that general
- 19 District Six area, and then moved to Bonteheuwel so like between the two of them, my dad's
- 20 Afrikaans is pretty much whatever is spoken on the street 'cause the people he hangs out
- 21 with are obviously from that history; they have a very strong... he was born and raised in Bo-
- 22 Kaap and so they have that very different version of Afrikaans. And so ironically, my mom
- 23 and him never really speaks...
- 24 J: [interjects] – Afrikaans to one another?
- 25 E: Ya, just because her version is –
- 26 J: so different
- 27 E: Ya, exactly. So I was raised speaking pretty much what... mostly English, and then
- 28 obviously once in the community over here it's completely different version of Afrikaans we
- 29 speak compared to what my mom spoke. I had to unlearn that version when I studied
- 30 teaching. Um because what we learnt at school and what we studied in class and what you
- 31 spoke on the playground or just in the community as a whole was like worlds apart and so
- 32 like unlearning it to teach. Towards the end, I taught for like three and a half years, towards
- 33 the end of my teaching like the last year and a half, I really stopped speaking that version in
- 34 class.
- 35 J: The "proper" version?

36 E: Ya. I was like “ag, you know, nobody speaks this language, you know”. And the kids were  
 37 also ok with it, the principal had a ,when the er what do you call it, inspector used to come,  
 38 then he’d be like reaching to me to try and teach that version. But pretty much I spoke a  
 39 mixture of English and Afrikaans in the Afrikaans class to the kids. And um, they always  
 40 wanted to know why we have to...

41 J: [interjects] be so proper about it and speak that variety.

42 E: Ya, and because you teaching you also, one of the reasons why I left teaching, if I think  
 43 back now, was I didn’t see that as being one of the problems, but I saw the lack of  
 44 knowledge of ourselves was the problem. Ironically, it funny that like, I wasn’t able to see  
 45 that the language problem was connected to how we felt about who we were... Um ja, so it’s  
 46 funny you go like via the US Black Consciousness version and then find your own -

47 J: [interjects] and come back to yourself.

48 E: Then actually, eventually, like you first come back to like the black version of the Steve  
 49 Biko version of and then being black in South Africa, then not being black in South Africa,  
 50 and being “coloured” and then what does that mean and so it’s er hell of a journey to find  
 51 yourself back, almost where you started, and um then like realising yor this is ... And even  
 52 when I speak to my mom now I have to use a um, I speak more Afrikaans – like if it’s  
 53 something more intimate and important I’ll speak more Afrikaans but um my dad is, doesn’t it  
 54 doesn’t matter.

55 J: I was going to ask – do you find that Afrikaans is a *skeltaal* (‘scolding language’) in the  
 56 house? So if you did something wrong, immediately you knew it was serious cause your  
 57 mom switched to that kind of... Or your dad?

58 E: Yoh! Actually not. I don’t think so. For me, Afrikaans has always been a *gatmaaktaal*  
 59 (‘joking language’), we used to make fun and we still do in Afrikaans. And both like for me  
 60 when I’m very emotional about something, I’ll speak to my mom especially in Afrikaans. My  
 61 dad is er, he grew up with English and he’s ok with *gamtaal* and just saying what you think  
 62 so ya, and usually dad’s aren’t the ones you go to about emotional things so ya [laughs] if  
 63 you’re a guy, ya so but I mean *skel* (‘scold’) ya, of course, but for me on the Cape Flats I  
 64 don’t think *skelling* (‘scolding’), I think more like the getting furious and violent and angry,  
 65 and that conversation doesn’t necessarily happen with my mom. I mean outside if you  
 66 wanna be *grof* (‘unpolished’) and *onbeskof* (‘rude’) then ...

67 J: You switch to that?

68 E: Ya ‘cause English it doesn’t have ...

69 J: [interjects] it’s not as emotive.

70 E: ..it doesn’t have the power to say what you feel. And ironically it’s changed like now I  
 71 could have full conversations of being completely *mosag* (*morsig*; ‘messy’) and it will be to  
 72 like a full... It actually, it happened recently...I dunno if you know. Like when I talk to XXXXX,  
 73 I speak very – ‘cause she’s like one of the few people in the Hip Hop community that got to  
 74 know me, they don’t really know me [presumably speaking about the rest of the Hip Hop  
 75 community] um, I sent her a mail that was meant for her, to just explain to her to her  
 76 husband, and she just forwarded it to him

77 J: Oh no.

78 E: And they were, the whole Hip Hop community was like, "What the fuck! Is this what Emile  
79 thinks of us?!" 'Cause with Leticia I go into this character, I dunno, MC *Vuilgat* ('Dirty Ass'), I  
80 call it. So I do like, "*Kuik hie', sê vir'raai ouens, ek sê hulle ma se en hulle...*" ('Look here, tell  
81 those guys I say their mother's and their...') And she'll be like, "OK" and when she sent it,  
82 she ... You know 'cause I thought she knew not to pass it on but then apparently she sent it  
83 to him, he sent it to Charl... and then like this girl that's on ReddyD's show, and like, just like  
84 –

85 J: Really?! Completely ...

86 E: Apparently like defamation of character on the radio, just like told everyone that I was this  
87 really disgusting person, which you know I mean, I don't have control of what people think  
88 and I really don't care, you know?

89 J: Your point was that that wasn't your intention in writing that mail.

90 E: Ya, I mean I think that what it did show was that certain people wanna believe um  
91 something about you no matter what. So I think Afrikaans has a, like the funny part is that  
92 everybody else is allowed to be rude, except like certain people. Or be disgusting or make  
93 *gat* ('joke'), but certain people are seen in a certain light...so

94 J: You tread very lightly when you ...

95 E: Ya, when you seen in a certain light. And like one day I was really getting tired of all these  
96 *ouens* ('guys') acting so hardcore and like they on the border of being disgusting, and then I  
97 was like – you know what – and Tanswell was on the far side showing don't do it, don't do it  
98 [shaking his head; arm movements showing no go]. And I was like I'm gonna rhyme you a  
99 rhyme a song I wrote, that was really like fucked up disgusting like the Afrikaans version of,  
100 like you think Die Antwoord is bad?, the song was like a million times worse and I did it like a  
101 verse...

102 J: And?

103 E: And you could hear a pin drop in the *jol* ('place'). And after I did it I see it, the funny part is  
104 that no one that you know is one thing, there's a public persona and there's who their mother  
105 know and who they really are and who their boyfriend... Everybody has a different... It was  
106 interesting doing it. It was shocking to everybody there and even to myself that people were  
107 that conservative. You know, it's almost like the first time you hear POC or "*Kuik hie', my*  
108 *broer, al'laai dinge moet djy los...*" ('Look here, my brother, you must stay away from all  
109 those things'). Most coloured people were like, "No, that's not how we speak". Because it  
110 was the first time they actually heard *gamtaal* on the radio. You so they were like, "Oh!"  
111 [expression of disbelief, hand over mouth, eyes big]. And everybody know this is how we  
112 speak, you know... on...

113 J: [interjects] wherever you are, you will hear that.

114 E: Exactly. But it wasn't or I mean, radio DJ's like, Dimitri Jagles like, "No. No. This is not  
115 how we speak." And it's almost denial because it is perceived, *gamtaal* is perceived as being  
116 like *kombuistaal* ('kitchen language'), like the slave like not the people who are wanting to



- 117 progress, you know. And which I almost think it's like the reverse of that I mean like in order  
118 for us to progress,
- 119 J: we need to own that.
- 120 E: Ya, we need to have people who hear how we speak and we need to write how we speak  
121 and make movies how we speak. And if they don't get it then fucking read the subtitles – you  
122 know what I mean? And be adamant about it like, “*Kuik hie, die's hoe os praat en as jy nie*  
123 *verstaan nie, leer*” (‘Look here, this is how we talk, and if you don't understand, then learn’).  
124 ‘Cause you know, you're expected to be another version of yourself in front of white people  
125 especially and our *mense* (‘people’) and even in front of Xhosa, Zulu, whatever you know?  
126 Like, it's expected that you speak so that others understand and we've been accommodative  
127 from like Ochimowa learning their language and then translating for them and we're still  
128 fucking translating for them, so... Anyway.
- 129 J: Ok.
- 130 E: I dunno if that answered the question but –
- 131 J: No – I think what I'm trying to get is more than just what my questions are asking, so it is  
132 helpful. Ok. Let's go to – what was the language of instruction at the schools you attended?
- 133 E: They were, obviously all the schools were two streams. And Afrikaans was also that  
134 version of Afrikaans. But Afrikaans also had a stigma. Like you had the situation where the  
135 kids in the English classes wouldn't play with the kids from the Afrikaans class.
- 136 J: Really?!
- 137 E: Ya, it was very fucked up like that. And obviously I grew up with a lot of the *laities* (‘guys’),  
138 so for me it was like, “What the fuck was this about?!” But like the sturvy Coloureds – the  
139 ones who were only to themselves
- 140 J: They only spoke English.
- 141 E: Ya, they also wouldn't hang out with Afrikaans-speaking kids. You know because a lot of  
142 the Afrikaans-speaking community was more of the *growwe* (‘unpolished’), like I mean the  
143 school I first attended was er, was Montagu's Gift. Which is right here, just here outside of  
144 Parkwood, and my mom also taught there. So most of those kids were actually from  
145 Parkwood, so for me the thing was like what's this big deal about it? When I came to De Klip  
146 I did Sub-A, Sub-A then still, I did Sub-A and Sub-B at Montagu's Gift and then I came to De  
147 Klip, which is now Fairview Primary. Um and even that name I dunno who sat around the  
148 table and said
- 149 J: [interjects] Let's make it posh.
- 150 E: maybe we should change it to “Fairview” [mimics a highfalutin British accent].
- 151 J: And straight through to high school?
- 152 E: And then high school was a St. Marist Brothers School called St. Owens. They closed  
153 down. Most of the schools either changed their name or closed down. Except for the first one  
154 which is Montagu's Gift. Um was St. Owens and again kids were from both the Marist



155 Brothers or the Catholic school would bring kids who were from like poorer backgrounds and  
 156 then subsidise their studies. And so you'd have half the kids from Retreat, Steenberg and  
 157 you know that area, and then kids would be like um, you know communities that were better  
 158 off like kids whose parents could afford to pay their schooling. I'm not Catholic, but my mom  
 159 them, my mom was like, I didn't really get along well with girls at school, but primary school.  
 160 I'm very shy so like, it inhibited me even more, so like I didn't like reading and standing up  
 161 and speaking in front of people. And at the boys' school it was easier 'cause it's like a whole  
 162 bunch of *ouens* ('guys'), you know not really easier 'cause guys can be really bitchy you  
 163 know as well, but um, it was smaller classes and there was more opportunity for discussion.  
 164 And um, they also went outside of the normal syllabus. We do discussion and show pictures  
 165 of Nelson Mandela, which wasn't allowed anywhere else. Like the general public schools.  
 166 And obviously I went all the way to matric there and then went on to my studies at er Wesley  
 167 Training College. Which also doesn't exist anymore in Durham Avenue, in Salt River.

168 J: My mom was at Wesley and one of my older brothers, so I know the history. But er, I  
 169 meant to ask: Wesley was English your instruction.

170 E: No, no. There was an Afrikaans stream as well. And so most of it, I mean the kids at the  
 171 high school were both. And we'd move in and out between the languages. And the main  
 172 instruction was in English but you could raise your hand and ask questions in Afrikaans. And  
 173 I think at some stages some kids were allowed to write the external examinations in  
 174 Afrikaans. So it was pretty much up to you which one you chose. Cause both Standard 8  
 175 and Standard 10 was external examinations back then. Um, ya. So there was a choice.

176 J: And you chose?

177 E: Hey? I chose English. And um, then I taught at Batswood Primary following a period of  
 178 three years.

179 J: And you taught in Afrikaans?

180 E: I taught in English, and um ya I mean I taught primary school so you teach everything like  
 181 art and handwork and you know. But um, ya you know the thing about relearning Afrikaans  
 182 in order to be able to you know you had this exam where you had capital A and capital E and  
 183 so I spent a lot of time unlearning Cape Flats lingo.

184 J: So that you could pass your exam?

185 E: Ya. And then when I got back involved with like the Hip Hop community and going out just  
 186 driving all over the Cape Flats, initially it was really difficult to get back into. Cause I used the  
 187 instructional language that I semi-mastered, I had to almost unlearn that because having that  
 188 conversation just made me look like...

189 J: Did you feel –

190 E: I felt like awkward, like the words were just like people were like, "Huh?!" I was like, "Fuck,  
 191 ok, let me think quickly what's the right word". And for a long time, it was like that 'cause I  
 192 didn't really, I didn't embrace it, you know the way that we speak. And also you know  
 193 speaking like that, I didn't, I didn't feel comfortable speaking the teacher version of so I had  
 194 to reconnect with the community and I think that in the documentary [*Afrikaaps*] I said I was  
 195 actually I used to ask, I used to like ask the people forgiveness or apologise for speaking the

196 broken version [of Afrikaaps] and then I was like after a while, “Fuck, I don’t care! Like if you  
197 don’t like the way I sound then that’s your problem”. And you know we also had people in  
198 our community who you know monitor, like I had a friend, I shouldn’t say had, she’s still a  
199 friend, XXXXX [friend’s first name], who used to manage XXXXXXXXXX [band’s name] and  
200 she used to cringe every time I speak from stage in Afrikaans ‘cause she spoke like very  
201 *suiwer* (‘pure’), like *Boere* (‘Boor/White’) Afrikaans, and she was like, “Why you gotta speak  
202 like that?!” I was like, “Look man, the *mense* (‘people’)...”

203 J: But it’s part of your song and...

204 E: But it’s also like I mean, there’s also a thing like the Black Noise guys, majority of the  
205 *ouens* (‘guys’) are English-speaking and so and all of them, most of them like finished  
206 matric, and like studied, for most of them education was important, so most of them, when  
207 we performed like we chose to perform the majority of the stuff. I mean prior to Ray and  
208 what’s-her-name ... Ray and er, Gavin, and Falco coming into Black Noise, like we didn’t  
209 actually record Afrikaans songs. Like one of the first tracks I wrote was an Afrikaans song.  
210 But like a really *gatmaak* (‘jocular’) song. So when POC’s [Prophets of da City’s] song came  
211 out I was like, “*Jaare!* (‘Lord!’) I should have recorded my song myself!” You know, and um  
212 and and er in the crew I used to say, “Let’s rap this”. They were like, “Na man, don’t do that  
213 on stage”. And I mean they almost felt embarrassed again because of the community that  
214 they’re from. But at home that’s how everyone spoke. So anyway that I think what happened  
215 in schools almost dictated how and the status quo. Like the schools made people think that  
216 like the Afrikaans was the poorer community and even though so many people who were  
217 really wealthy come from, speak Afrikaans and even the kids who were faking being English.  
218 So I think maybe it’s connected to that whole like history of things in Cape Town. And so like  
219 that just, they just stayed like it’s embedded in your mind if speak this way you’re not seen  
220 as being educated, you know and so anyways I think it carried across. A lot of our Hip  
221 Hoppers perceive and think if you look at it now, you think it’s still as it was. Like people don’t  
222 perceive *gamtaal* as anything more than a joke language. And majority of people in Cape  
223 Town speak that language. So what do you have, what are you saying about coloured  
224 people?

225 J: saying about coloured people.

226 E: I mean the biggest seller of all plays in any stage is like District Six the musical. Like how  
227 can that.. If that wasn’t run with David Kramer, and coloured people (so-called coloured  
228 people) had a bigger say, I don’t think it would have come across as such a comedy. Like  
229 when I watched it I cried, especially when that character the dude, ‘Ta Maka, says, “Blow  
230 wind! Blow!”, “Fuck these people!” I was so angry! And um, I’m like everybody came out  
231 laughing. It was like almost like it was watered down and I was very angry at that play.  
232 ‘Cause I was so tired of us

233 J: [interjects] of us being the joke

234 E: Ya but also reminiscent and not proactive but anyway, so it’s almost like that set the tone  
235 across the board of how subdued we are you, as a people. About this language that we  
236 speak and like and then like coming to *Afrikaaps* and being exposed to all the facts that’s  
237 connected to the thing, I was blown away. ‘Cause I was, initially Catherine just contacted me  
238 because she heard I was working with a lot of *laities* (‘youngsters’). I never saw myself as

239 part of the production in anyway. And as we were busy studying I was like, “Fuck! I wanna  
240 learn more about what’s going on”. And then like sitting with them and then she, after I, I  
241 sent her a few parts of lyrics that I had written and she was like, “Yoh, OK, why don’t you just  
242 do it as part of the thing?” Cause I don’t really see myself as, and this is the weird part, I  
243 don’t really see myself as an emcee. I’ve written like maybe a hundred and twenty nine  
244 songs.

245 J: But isn’t that what you do?!

246 E: I don’t...Your see I dunno [doorbell rings] for me Hip Hop is a very... How do you put this?  
247 Um.. yoh for me you don’t call yourself an emcee. Someone says that about you. You know,  
248 and like I don’t see myself as one because you invest all your time into just being, just  
249 being... It’s like if someone says I’m a musician. I don’t play an instrument. My only  
250 instrument may be my voice. My voice, right, but I don’t see myself as a musician, right. The  
251 most time I’ve invested into something is BBoying and Hip Hop. You know so until I injured  
252 by back I saw myself as just that... you know like I’m a BBoy that’s got shit to say so I write  
253 rhymes. And um, the rhymes are always secondary to the performance and events. So I  
254 don’t see myself as being such, being an emcee and so when she had like Jits on the bill  
255 and like Blaq Pearl and then Jethro Louw, who’s a poet, and Charl even, I mean he’s a  
256 BBoy, but he spends a long time you know making beats and writing rhymes, you know. So I  
257 didn’t really, so I went there with like, “Ah OK, I’m just gonna learn something” then when  
258 she said be involved so it also changed... I was also like, “Cool”, cause I had written a play a  
259 while ago – a dance, a Hip Hop dance – so I was like, “Cool, I can learn how this is done” – I  
260 mean aside from the other stuff I’d learned along the way. And um, so like again being  
261 confronted with the language and like you’re listening to Jits and you’re like, “I don’t speak  
262 like that”, you listen to Charl, like, “I don’t speak like that either”, listen to Jethro, “Fuck! I  
263 definitely don’t speak like that”. I listen to Moenier... You know Moenier, I can sort of I can  
264 relate because of my dad’s history and like the Cape Flats and stuff, but it’s also not how I  
265 speak. So I was like, “OK cool, this is a nice place to be in ‘cause I’m sort of the – All of them  
266 speak...”

267 J: I was going to say all of them are connected in the way that they speak.

268 E: Ya, and but it’s all different. Also I mean even Pearl, coming from Mitchells Plain, we, I  
269 think myself and her have pretty more in common actually than most of the others, ‘cause  
270 the others are... Well at the same time she’s also more Afrikaans-speaking at home. I am ... I  
271 am probably one of the only English-speaking people.

272 J: That was in that group.

273 E: Ya. I mean before that I wrote in Afrikaans but it wasn’t something I really spent a lot of  
274 time on you know. I just occasionally messed around writing in Afrikaans.

275 J: And sorry, when you say Afrikaans do you mean Kaaps or do you mean Afrikaans?

276 E: No, I mean Kaaps. I always write the way I speak. I can’t... A lot of the initial songs I  
277 wrote were a mixture of English and Afrikaans, like I’d jump in and out of both and some  
278 would have in the same sentences both English and Afrikaans. I was comfortable in doing  
279 almost what I had already written before and coming to write new stuff was also based on  
280 what we were reading, like storytelling, but obviously in Afrikaans. And the irony of it is that a

- 281 lot of the research material is in English for that production. [Laughs out loud] I was like,  
282 "Damn!" [chuckles]
- 283 J: Ya, I'm going to be writing this in English which is also very funny... Um, just also  
284 something completely off the topic but what was your favourite TV programme as a child and  
285 why?
- 286 E: Yoh! [giggles] Favourite TV programme? Um..
- 287 J: [interjects] Or did you just watch what there was 'cause there wasn't a selection?
- 288 E: No, I mean as kids we had, I think was a programme we had called *Een dag was daar*  
289 ('One day there was') and basically it was a cartoon about history and travelling through  
290 time. There was this guy called *Oupa* ('Grandpa') which was like this bearded dude and this  
291 big guy called *Bielie* ('Big One') and I can't remember a few other characters – *Jakkals*  
292 ('Jackal') and- they were like travelling through time. These two characters who were like  
293 trying to stop them from achieving whatever they were achieving. So it was a cartoon and it  
294 was translated obviously and it wasn't Afrikaans. Um there was that and then the Pinnocchio  
295 and the Heidi, all of the cartoons but all translated and Niels Holgersen all like, majority of  
296 the stuff which we watched was cartoon but like translated from whatever German, Swedish,  
297 whatever into Afrikaans. Ya, there were also like a couple, I can't remember all of them, but  
298 there were um were like almost like a series. There was a story called Emile as well but it's  
299 about this naughty kid somewhere was obviously in Europe, but again translated to  
300 Afrikaans. Fuck, all the stories that I watched and that I liked were in Afrikaans, a lot of them,  
301 most of them in Afrikaans.
- 302 J: You didn't, did you, 'cause I remember watching *Môre is nog 'n dag* ('Tomorrow is another  
303 day') and then you'd have to tune into the radio to get the English?
- 304 E: Ya, some of them were like that but we didn't still bother 'cause I mean we understand  
305 Afrikaans. Um, ya that only came afterwards. Back then there wasn't a lot of that's what they  
306 call simulcast back then [giggles], um ya but I... there were the movies like... A lot of good  
307 movies were translated into Afrikaans there was the Million Dollar Man was actually *Man van*  
308 *Staal* ['Man of Steel'] in South Africa. The only things from back then was this was really long  
309 after, I was probably a teenager when Knight Rider and that shit came out in English but  
310 prior to that most of the good stuff... We used to sit up late at night and watch like fucked up  
311 stuff like there was this show called Sol en Goeie which was like an Afrikaans type  
312 slapstick show – like what the *fok* ('fuck') am I doing up watching this shit....
- 313 J: But you'd wait up for the show?
- 314 E: Ya, ya. And back then TV had an end like twelve o'clock was [sounds like *tshup* – maybe  
315 from the Indonesian *cukup* ('finished')] That's it, no more TV for you. It was earlier before, I  
316 remember, I think like nine or ten o'clock was cut off and they just had that...
- 317 J: That tester screen.
- 318 E: [giggles] Ya that's it... That used to be your cut. But the good thing is there used to be no  
319 fucking adverts like now.
- 320 J: Ya, there's more advertising than programming.

321 E: Exactly. But most of the movies I liked. Like I mean, even the local production of um,  
322 fucking racist shit like *Trompie en die Boksombende* ('Trompie and the Boksom Gang'), like  
323 that shit was so racist if you think about it.

324 J: But you'd watch it.

325 E: You'd watch it 'cause it was about kids and you caught on the same *kak* ('shit') that he  
326 caught on, you know? One of my tracks I actually wrote it, you know, I think it was a track I  
327 never recorded. The track it was called *Kan djy onthou?* ('Can you remember?') where I talk  
328 about all this movies and stuff when we grew up and Wilson blocks and Chappies and you  
329 know stuff like that and in this song I actually make reference to Trompie and that maybe  
330 even Trompie's father was busy shooting us out on the street. We don't know maybe he was  
331 working for the SANDF and we were like all big Trompie fans [chuckles].

332 J: Ok, um. What's your best loved Kaapse phrase or *sêding* ('saying') or *sprekwoord*  
333 (loosely 'phrase')?

334 E: Yoh! It changes you know like I mean there was obviously there was a time when it was  
335 *duidelik* ('clear'). Another thing is hearing someone tell you a *laaitie* ('boy'), "*Ek sal jou*  
336 *bliksem!*" ('I will give you a hiding'/'I will hit you') or even *moer* ('hit') or *donner* ('hit'). For me  
337 that's a very powerful thing to tell someone. I think [giggles] the most powerful thing and  
338 even, you don't even need to complete the phrase, is to you tell someone "*Jou ma se....!*"  
339 ('Your mother's ...!') It's just... like trying to explain that to someone overseas, so many times  
340 I try to explain that to them, they ask me how does people swear and I tell them, "Yoh, they  
341 just have to tell someone, '*Jou ma se...*'. you don't even have to say the word..." They'll just  
342 flip the fuck out. They like, "For real?!" And for me it's like the adjectives you can add

343 J: [adds] And you can make those things into...

344 E: [whistles] Ya..The most... and it can change all the time. I think the most creative  
345 swearing ever is Afrikaans. I mean you... like right now just thinking of all the adjectives you  
346 could add to something just to make it originally yours... Shit! It's extremely powerful. Um,  
347 but general phrases... I don't... I don't know like um... The funny one, the more recent one I  
348 hear my nephews speak to each other they'll be like "*Kyk hie, minute vir jou!*" ('Look here,  
349 minutes for you!') That one.

350 J: It doesn't lose its effect.

351 E: Eh, that one ya and it constantly changes. And someone can say something in passing  
352 you know like you hear kids, kids are, kids at school keep the language alive because they –  
353 I think adults have to face the system so often so they not very creative with the language.  
354 But that type of statement like "*Minute vir jou!*" ('Minutes for you!') I heard um *laities*  
355 ('youngsters') saying um, "*Kyk hie, jou ma't 'ie eers genoeg...*" ('Look here, your mother  
356 doesn't even have enough...') How did it go again? "*Jy't 'ie eers geld om 'n five-bob pakkie*  
357 *tjips te koop'ie*" ('You don't even have money to buy a five rand packet of tjips'). You know  
358 like stuff like that and I'm like, "Yoh! *My broer...*" ('My brother!')

359 J: It's like really telling someone off not like saying something to sound cool.

360 E: Ya you know or when a the what's-er-name was the in thing this power boxes, it was like  
361 saying, "*Jy kannie eers 'n tien sen 'lectric afford'ie.*" ('You can't even afford ten cents')



362 electricity!) You know, like *kak* ('shit') like that, I'm yoh!!! [chuckles] You know.. and the more  
363 you hang out with the *laities* ('youngsters'), the more you hear. Like they say, they *gwarra*  
364 *mekaar* ('tease/insult each other'). Just brilliant, *ou bra* ('old brother'). And I mean I just enjoy  
365 hanging with them. Like obviously your work may be on a, like you're writing maybe a rhyme  
366 together like you know, and the stuff they come up with. Like first they come up with all this  
367 like formal stuff and you say, "*Naai, praat soes djy.. Rap soes djy praat. Gebruik watever djy*  
368 *dink..I 'aar oor, is OK.*" ('No, talk like you.. Rap like you talk. Use whatever you think..rap  
369 about that, it's OK') And they'll be like WOW the stuff they come up with. I made the mistake  
370 one day of doing that in Pollsmoor with the *laities* ('youngsters') that's at B4. And they were  
371 like yoh! There was like blood – one murder after the other in the rhyme – I was like, "Wait a  
372 minute. You've written that now, now let me think about something positive to write about....  
373 Eh eh um um".

374 J: 'Cause that's their frame of reference.

375 E: Ya. And also as what they see as being.. and the funny part that is also what they see as  
376 today a lot of rappers, especially Afrikaans rappers, they feel like Hip Hop is associated with  
377 being hard

378 J: And violent.

379 E: Ya, so they like everything is about *toe klap hulle 'n skoot* ('then they let off a shot') and  
380 *ek sal vir jou watever* ('I will whatever you'), like all the most graphic, disgusting stuff they  
381 can think of as being or them being in positions of power and er um... but it's also these  
382 fucking newspapers – *Die Son* and *The Voice*.

383 **[33min55secs]**

384 Create the impression amongst them that in order for you to be of any interest to anyone you  
385 have to rap about the most gruesome shit you can, you know? And the funny part is that that  
386 same *laaitie* ('guy') like is obviously living at his mom's and like – you know...

387 J: He's nowhere near doing any of what he's rapping about.

388 E: Any of the shit he's writing... Ya exactly, I mean ya when I think about that scenario.. I  
389 watched something on TV and see all these gangsters like going, "*Kyk hie, my broer, eke,*  
390 *sien djy, eke, my bru* [in a mumble, changing posture] *ekke het gister 'n paar ouens sat*  
391 *geskiet hiesa*" ('Look here, my brother, I, you see, I, my brother, I shot a few guys to  
392 smithereens here yesterday'). You know? And then you're wondering, "I know how *laities*  
393 ('guys') are, and I know that if you're gonna talk about that shit probably you're not the one  
394 not really doing it, right?" And you know how the Cape Flats is, as soon as somebody says  
395 "*Kyk hie, ja, gister toe moet djy gesien het, ne*" ('Look here, yes, yesterday you should have  
396 seen') Now another *ou* ('guy') will come, "*Daai's nog niks 'ie, my broer, djy moet gesien het...*  
397 [inaudible] *gazi it was oral, my broer!*" en "*Naai. Naai. Djy wiet nog fokkol, my broer, lat ek*  
398 *gou jou 'n stuk sny*" ("That's nothing, my brother, you should have seen... [inaudible] blood it  
399 was everywhere, my brother!" and "No. No. You still know fuck all, my brother, now let me  
400 tell you a story") then you know it's escalating, right, and like the stories are obviously being  
401 exaggerated, right? But now Whities don't know this shit so now they get this fucking *ouens*  
402 ('guys') from overseas come do this documentaries (here) and then you watching this *ne*

- 403 ('hey') then you wondering like, I wonder... like this *laities* ('guys') are probably laughing  
 404 them fucked up at home about like...
- 405 J: What they said on camera.
- 406 E: Ya ya.. and like how.. is it really
- 407 J: Like how close is it really to reality.
- 408 E: And did they really speak to the right *ouens* ('guys')? 'Cause my brother said something a  
 409 while ago, really he like made me think about it, like Tanswell was saying, he met some  
 410 *ouens* ('guys') who, he was round a couple of *ouens* ('guys') who were like *gooi-ing* ('using')  
 411 Sebela – gang, gang language - and this *ou* ('guy') walked into the circle and *klapped* ('hit')  
 412 them like '*n moerse hou* ('a massive shot') and he just looked at him and then they left with  
 413 this *ou* ('guy') and Tanswell was like, "What?" And Tanswell said one of the *laities*  
 414 ('youngsters') said they not supposed to be saying this shit.
- 415 J: 'Cause that's the whole point of that language is that it's a secret language.
- 416 E: And this was years back. And I remember a similar instance when I was with some *laities*  
 417 ('youngsters') from Parkwood and then like they started making me think about what he said  
 418 like these *ouens* ('guys') openly talking about it on TV and you like wonder like, there are  
 419 probably gonna be repercussions for whoever's involved..
- 420 J: If they are related or associated with anything like that.
- 421 E: Ya. So ya it's ..even that, that expansion of language and like bringing it back.. I mean  
 422 there are obviously so many *ouens* ('guys') going in and out of jail and bringing that back to  
 423 the communities and the way the *laities* ('youngsters') talk, you know? *Jarre!* ('Lord!') You  
 424 know, on the one hand you can't blame the *laities* ('youngsters') 'cause that's what they  
 425 hearing at home, but on the other side of it, it's like whoever's listening to it and whoever is  
 426 like... I mean you can get shot for saying something that's.. that you shouldn't be saying, you  
 427 know? But it's not your fault 'cause your dad just got out of prison and he was talking like  
 428 that. [chuckles] Anyway, so ya, off the topic again... Sorry.
- 429 J: No no no, it's fine. Um.. How... Ok, you already sort of explained how you got involved  
 430 with *Afrikaaps*, but what was the main aim of the production in your opinion?
- 431 E: Eish! I think Catherine and Aaryn Kaganoff the two of them like wanted to expose the  
 432 Black history of the language.. And when I say Black again, I obviously mean ...
- 433 J: The African, Khoi history **[38:10]**
- 434 E: Ya ya the original people's contribution to the language. And also the reality of the  
 435 language is that it's always been people of colour who the majority of the language speaking  
 436 the language, it's not been White folk...and and um.. So just to like to reposition the  
 437 language in the minds of South Africans
- 438 J: As coming from Africans.
- 439 E: Ya, that was probably the main thing and er they kept repeating this one phrase that "the  
 440 language belong to everyone that spoke it" and you know, I think that was also Doctor

441 Neville Alexander's contribution in breaking down the history but also saying that as clearly  
442 as possible.

443 J: I mean he said it should be the language of liberation, that was his point about Afrikaans.

444 E: Ya, and I almost feel like um that these people like I mean him and Patrick, like people  
445 they spoke to, almost to a certain extent set the tone of where it went. You know, 'cause  
446 obviously when you read that you're really pissed off and I think like the younger *ouens*  
447 ('guys') in the production were like they were...

448 J: [interjects] fired up about it.

449 E: Ya, they were angry... Ya and I was very I was much more like real about...like  
450 everybody was like, "Ya, it's the Baxter.. this is the start of the revolution! Blah blah blah."  
451 And I was like, ja, the Baxter is owned by UCT *ek sê* ('hey'), there's no *fokken* ('fucking')  
452 revolution you know..Who owns this is the same motherfuckers that you know....

453 J: Did you feel maybe when you did the KKNK that that was more of the revolution? That  
454 you were taking it into a predominantly white Afrikaans...

455 E: I was actually a bit a bit like slightly scared of what the outcome would be because I  
456 um... That community's whole existence is based on this language like you going in there  
457 and telling them isn't your *fokken* ('fucking') language is like really really like a shock... And I  
458 think part, some of what we were doing was like softened by um like I think Jethro's  
459 involvement and the Khoi heritage.

460 J: OK. So you feel like they couldn't make an attack on the play because you weren't  
461 necessarily saying that they were in the wrong.

462 E: The only thing the only only song that really the song was the chorus I wrote, *Kom*  
463 *KhoiSan* ('Come Khoisan') was the only thing that was like, "Whoa... these niggers want  
464 their land back".

465 J: OK. But I think also the whole idea was that it was metaphorical. It was about claiming it  
466 more than what it was taking something.

467 E: Ya.. But you see it's like also about who was listening and willing to listen beyond *Kom*  
468 *KhoiSan*, *kry terug jou land* ('Come Khoisan, get your land back') you know. Initially I actually  
469 wrote two versions. I wrote *Kom Khoi en die San kom terug na die land* ('Come Khoi and the  
470 San come back to the land') which was a general theme... and then like there were two  
471 versions and I was like this one would actually be more provocative in like getting people  
472 talking. And I think maybe in retrospect looking at like what ...Because also the Khoi and the  
473 San didn't see the land as theirs, they saw that it as belongs as vacant. If you look at,  
474 historically that version would have been correct but like politically and out of necessity I  
475 think that that is, is way past due that people should be speaking 'cause everyone is  
476 speaking about ownership of land like the *Boere* ('Boors/Whites') and the Xhosa, all of them  
477 are speaking about the ownership of land. And to not speak about it is almost, you are  
478 almost in denial of this is the reality that people are owning huge parts of land that doesn't  
479 really belong to you.



480 J: I think Catherine made the point in the documentary, she said that the aim or not the aim  
481 but she said what you need to keep in mind is that people were dispossessed of their  
482 language and their land so this is part of a movement.

483 E: Of a Reformation [overlaps] Ya and I think is also just like a... When people say "land", it  
484 is also a state of mind, man. Like you've got a huge community of people who don't feel like  
485 they part of the country like especially people who... like Afrikaaps speakers or Afrikaans  
486 speakers on the Cape Flats, they feel like completely like in their minds they don't belong  
487 here whereas in their actions they do. You know everything they do like they'll first get local  
488 remedies to try and solve whatever problems; the food they make, the food they eat, what  
489 they grew up with... like small, small things that make them belong right here that they don't  
490 even realise that make them belong here. And I think that is the real power... to this point I  
491 think that is the unexamined, the unfired up part of the community that I think Afrikaaps has  
492 still not reached. Like the Hanover Parks, the Manenberg, the Mitchells Plains ... I mean  
493 they took the play out there and the dobbie to go show it and it's made a bit of an impact but  
494 I still feel like there's such a huge job that it can do. 'Cause parts of it was visible at the  
495 Baxter when the *laities* ('youngsters') came and like how completely liberated they felt by  
496 listening to what was another heritage. And then the other part of was actually at the KKNK  
497 there in Oudsthoorn, like seeing White people's reaction to what the production was talking  
498 about. Like afterwards, like the ouma, the mammie coming to hug Jethro. There's a healing  
499 needed in the country that I think Afrikaaps has the potential to assist in... Like I mean  
500 Kaganoff mentioned like catharsis and being confronted with yourself and your own like guilt  
501 and anger and false sense of value and actually at the same time giving other people their  
502 own due respect and value. Is a huge thing and part of it was that woman's reaction you  
503 know like, "Yoh" you know like relief like the *mense* ('people') isn't angry, they trying to...  
504 there's an attempt to bring us to see it, like see things from a South African perspective, a  
505 common perspective. So I mean Catherine them, indirectly, I mean the play has so much  
506 power. And so much.. Like the being a part of it has been like life changing. I don't know how  
507 to explain that beyond that [chuckles] um like just what happened..

508 J: [interrupts] For yourself or just in the sense of how you feel things happening around you?

509 E: I think generally, it touches on.. It's almost like it did like prophesy like the Hangberg  
510 situation to a certain extent. Like when that happened I was like, "Fuck!" You know and then  
511 like when we did it in Oudsthoorn they killed Terblanche that same, that last night of our  
512 performance we heard he was killed. And so many racist things in Oudsthoorn said that  
513 night by a couple *dronk Boere* ('drunk Boers/Whites'). Just like....

514 J: I mean you even saw from when Charl and Jethro are handing out flyers, the kind of  
515 perceptions that still exists.

516 E: Ya exactly. So I mean like there are so many elements to it I mean like even when we  
517 were doing the production and we'd sit and talk about the Khoisan contributions. Like I  
518 remember once just sitting in one of those rooms with the door open while we were working  
519 out some of the stories and a bird flying into the room and just sitting there. And everybody  
520 went completely quiet because we were talking about spirits about Khoisan belief, the ability  
521 to transform and be part of any spirit, you know. And I mean it may sound like... but when  
522 you think about the energy and power that those first people had... that we still have to get  
523 our heads around in this modern society and this was almost a reawakening for me of

524 another way that exists from the one that there is. That ownership is not, like ownership of  
 525 something is... Like if I look at law, law is based on the ownership of land and that it is  
 526 illegally obtained ownership but the laws are written by the same ones who illegally obtained  
 527 [the land] and so all the dispossessed people of the world end up in their prisons while they  
 528 put those laws into effect to benefit their theft, their original theft. Like stuff like that, which I  
 529 had an inkling, an idea of what it was really about before but with this production it was just  
 530 the depth of what was going on was just... And then also being confronted by Media24 and  
 531 like that machine you know like Naspers and all those people... like their whole existence as  
 532 a *volk* ('nation') is based on a stolen language in same way that their wealth is based on  
 533 stolen land. I was talking to *dinges* ('thingamajig') you know.. um Jethro in Amsterdam and  
 534 the word "*leen*" ('borrow') came into... 'Cause he said something like, "*Kan ek gou daai*  
 535 *leen?*" ('Can I borrow that quickly?') So I laughed and I said, "Yoh daai is *fokked* ('fucked')  
 536 up, *my bru*. '*Leen*'. *Hulle't die land geleen, ma' daai is 'n leuen!*" ('my brother. "Borrow". They  
 537 borrowed the land, but that's a lie!') He was like, "YOH!" And we went on and on about these  
 538 words and the multi-meanings that they might have, you know. And just like while we were  
 539 there and the people's complete lack of understanding about what happened here, you  
 540 know. They don't have a *fokking* ('fucking') clue... They don't even know who Jan van  
 541 Riebeeck is. You know what I mean?! Like generally in their country they like what the fuck  
 542 what these guys on about, I mean they have a slavery museum that have no mention of the  
 543 San and the Khoi what happened over here in South Africa, nothing. And I mean we got to  
 544 visit all those place. So for me the potential and... 'cause when we were there we rewrote  
 545 stories, we rewrote some of the verses for, to work with local emcees so essentially you  
 546 could travel *Afrikaaps* to any country in the world and it could have a story to tell. 'Cause I  
 547 mean there there's the immigration thing cause obviously the one guy was a Kwasi.. he was  
 548 African guy living there and then there was, what's his name again, the local rapper, almost  
 549 like an old school guy – he's like my age from the Hip Hop community. So... And there's  
 550 always like a parallel between Amsterdam and South Africa 'cause when we were at the  
 551 Baxter everyone was like reared up like, "Revolution, like this is gonna change everyone!"  
 552 And when we were there, there was an instance when Kaganoff and a couple of other local  
 553 people were spurring on what's his name, Charl, to talk about Swarte Piet who was this  
 554 gollywog black guy who's Santa's helper like. But it's very racist how this character is set up  
 555 but it's part of their history so they very, the people from there, the Dutch are ...

556 J: [interjects] very protective.

557 E: Ya.... So they were like, "Let's do a song". I was like, "*Fok* ('fuck') yous! I didn't come half  
 558 way around the world to be *fokken* ('fucking') shot by these people." I was just like, "I  
 559 survived Apartheid! *Fok* ('fuck') yous! 'Cause yous are emotional! You wanna, you wanna...  
 560 I don't wanna be your, um like what do you call it, like your pawn to like something that has  
 561 so much more depth in this country and history in this country. And like... I'm tired of seeing  
 562 our young people die for *fokkol* ('fuck all'). Like here Ashley [Kriel] and Anton [Fransch, two  
 563 Umkhonto weSizwe members of the Bonteheuvel cell in the mid-1980s who were killed by  
 564 security police] them died in South Africa for basically *fokkol* ('fuck all'). You know... And I'm  
 565 tired of that shit". I don't think Charl.. I mean he wrote a verse that was like fucking powerful  
 566 but I don't think we should do this shit.. I don't want like people to rock up here and like take  
 567 punches..

568 J: 'Cause it takes away also from your movement that you guys are try to further.

569 [50:00]

570 E: Ya exactly. You know? And I mean yes, that should be addressed but I think it should be  
571 addressed by people there. Like yes for them to school us about it is important but at the  
572 same time it's it's a .. I mean I'm not saying it's not important but I'm just like saying who the  
573 fuck are we to like come and now address this this issue you know um, when in actual fact  
574 like... ya exactly like you were saying, we're taking away from this original crime that has  
575 taken place. You know?

576 J: Which is what you tried to bring the original perpetrators to some kind of knowledge of  
577 where you guys [I correct myself] where we are now floundering.

578 E: Ya. And so for me it's almost like that like agitating young people to do something without  
579 all of the knowledge of of... and also what you're up against... 'Cause like we just left there  
580 and there was a group of people who were busy like gonna put on T-shirts and protest. And  
581 before they could put on the T-shirts... There's cameras all over the place. They were all  
582 arrested without even one T-shirt being put on. You know? And so like ...This like CSI type  
583 of thing going on in that country. And so for me it's almost like I understand the global-, the  
584 globalisation of capitalism and its agenda. Like I mean The Dutch East India Company was  
585 the first multi-national corporation to that extent, like global and the Dutch West India  
586 Company, you know, so they really had the world covered, you know, in all aspects of  
587 exploitation that you can imagine. And um, and so like this is the modern version of that shit,  
588 you know. And..

589 J: [interjects] And it's to not fall, fall back into that and to keep yourself independent?

590 E: Ya. No.. no I think not necessarily also to keep yourself independent from it but like  
591 understand what its origins are and like yes, you need to show that, expose that in  
592 Amsterdam. And show means *kuik 'ie* ('look here') this is like what what, you know what  
593 happened because of what you did. But um, at the same time, also like underst- like  
594 [doorbell rings in background] know what battles to fight, man. You know? Like.... [Sighs] It's  
595 like during apartheid.. Like *ouens* ('guys') used to... There used to be a mass rally and then  
596 they spray "mass rally" on the wall and where it's gonna be and then they like all look  
597 surprised when the law *stiek* out ('turns up'). Like you just *fokken* ('fucking') advertised to  
598 everyone! [inaudible] Like if you wanted to have a mass rally did you want to get them to  
599 come so you can stone them or did you wanna actually enlighten the masses? You know  
600 what I mean? So for me it wasn't really like it... I think you need to be very careful about like  
601 what.. And as I get older I realised this also - Like I don't like getting kids up- er excited  
602 without there being a way that we can... And I, myself and my brother are the worse at  
603 getting excited anyway, so we really don't get excited, like other people are like, "Oh my  
604 God, you sent this people to overseas!" I'm Like "Ah OK - they got an opportunity to see  
605 something new". So like we go into something with a very like different approach, you know,  
606 like this is the reality of it, you might go overseas [doorbell rings in background] but you  
607 gonna come home here. I think my dad's gone...

608 J: Ya, he went for a walk earlier, do you wanna get that [the front door]?

609 E: Ya. Sorry man. Let me just go.

610 J: No problem.

611 **[54:18]-[57:50]**

612 **[Emile leaves the room to answer the door. Slightly inaudible conversation between**  
613 **Emile and person at the door; dog barking; street noises]**

614 E: I'm sorry.

615 J: No problem.

616 E: That's a guy did a documentary about... He's actually, he's South African but his parents  
617 left to um... to Australia ...

618 J: [interjects] OK.

619 E: Ya... so he's back trying to figure out his heritage. And we did a track- song together.

620 J: Oh cool.

621 E: Ja.. So I put it on this new album that I just put out now.... Ja... Spencer [giggles]

622 J: Spencer? The dude?

623 E: That's his name ya... I don't even know his surname. I'm just like Spencer [laughs]

624 J: OK. But you worked with him?

625 E: Ya... I'm bad with names anyway. So I mean... The thing is a lot of people that come here  
626 I'd like.. If I say I, "OK, we're gonna work on a track" and they like, they make the effort to  
627 come you, know, then we do it, you know, but if I have to run all after them and shit... I'm like  
628 [sighs] man... So we did this song about race and heritage and...

629 J: OK.

630 E: Ja was cool [to himself] I wonder if he used it in his documentary. [to me] He's also a film  
631 maker, so he did a documentary. Anyway, where were we?

632 J: OK. Let me go on...er.. You sort of spoke about it as well, but how did you research for  
633 the project?

634 E: Again, what's her name them did a lot of the er um leg work... Er Catherine and

635 J: Aryan.

636 E: Ya the two of them. And they just brought like batches of like reading material in. And er  
637 on my own I also started like looking for books and stuff like that and started reading. I mean  
638 I'm still reading the stuff from the amount of books that I got it's like just... and things happen  
639 along the way like like now recently with um, Oom ('Uncle') Dawid Kruiper's death, I um the  
640 funny part is just before it happened I asked... I checked through Amazon for books on  
641 Bushmen, right? And I found this called *The Healing Land* or something like that.... and um  
642 then she just picks it up when she's that side [in the USA] and she bought it back with her....

643 J: Ok. Meetali? [Emile's wife] [laughs]

644 E: Ya... that and a pair of roller skates. [Both of us laugh] And lots of comedy, video comedy  
645 videos shows 'cause that's my [inaudible]...

646 J: [interjects] It's amazing though how easy it is to find stuff like that over there and over here  
647 you're stuck trying to get it.

648 E: [mutters] Ya it's almost impossible. Exactly... So anyway, ya the irony of it is as soon as  
649 she got back, like maybe like a week into it, Dawid Kruiper actually passed away and when I  
650 opened the book the whole story is basically about him and his grandfather *Regopstaan*  
651 (literal translation of the name: 'Stand Up Straight'). And I was like, "Yoh!" and so I just, like I  
652 dove into the book. And then I also I was injured so I was spending like days just lying  
653 around and just reading and it was a hell of a like a eye-opener because there's a piece in  
654 there where Regopstaan says that er we um... he says that when... when when ... the  
655 foreigners, well not foreigners but like the strange people, when they come then there'll be,  
656 you know, we will be able to tell our story and we will be able to.. the rain will return and  
657 when the rain... no then we'll dance and when we dance the the rain will return. You know,  
658 when we're allowed to dance then then other people, other small people like us around the  
659 world will dance as well. So obviously being a dancer, it's like that had, on so many levels  
660 that had so much meaning. And then further in the book um they ask one of the other  
661 members of the community, the Komani San community, um like what did he think of  
662 Regopstaan's statement. And he said we don't, because we don't have land, we dance but  
663 the land isn't ours so the dance is fruitless, there's no rain. And that shit was so deep  
664 because I can so relate to how we dance as Capetonians. We're not conjuring up any spirits  
665 or any... like as BBoys, we're just dancing to copy. We're dancing for the sake of dancing.  
666 You know there's no... And so that like had so much... like I mean obviously I'm lying on my  
667 back and like Fuck! It was so deep. Cause like until we actually address the issue of our  
668 heritage, we're dancing in vain. Like this is just a hobby. We're not really... And rain can be  
669 associated with growth and wealth but we're not generating any income because, Shit!  
670 We're just, we're *Klopse* man, we're not really like... we're not connected. You know?  
671 Anyways, so that was now like maybe a week, two weeks ago. So like I think that there are,  
672 there's so many levels that the play worked on - when I saw what happened in Hangberg  
673 and when I saw now what happened on the mines [Marikana]. And like when you hear Julius  
674 [Malema] speak about "The wealth belongs to us" and I'm like just, "Who are you talking  
675 about?!" as far as the mines and the land, and the stuff is concerned and like how, like this is  
676 just a modern version of the same bullshit that Apartheid was. Like what is the battle really?  
677 So you question, I think on so many levels the, like the content of what they brought was so  
678 deep. And like the people that are, and then the passing of Neville [Alexander] like now  
679 recently... I like, I was completely broken by that. I was like, "Fuck!" 'Cause you know you're  
680 in the situation where you see, I mean people see you as this um, like revolutionary and you,  
681 and it's a fucking lonely place to be. And I thought about Neville I was like, "Yoh!" He was  
682 always so open like if you, I mean he was always so open. I mean I don't know shit! And I  
683 sat with him and asked him questions... and he like you know, he doesn't enforce his view,  
684 it's like almost like he knows that info will find you at some point you know, and I got to see  
685 him beginning of this year. I went to meet him because this it really bothered me this race  
686 thing. Because like I mean I don't wanna be speaking about "coloured" identity and  
687 "coloured" heritage and like, you know being "coloured". Like everybody is fuckin' coloured  
688 on the planet. But how do you move to where everybody is accepting of this, if you don't first  
689 start somewhere? You know? And so that was my question to him and he was like, "I don't



690 have an answer to that". Like his example he gave was like, he looked at it as like we're all  
 691 tributaries from the like Gariep, like you know that was his example of like the Orange River,  
 692 Gariep. And how like how we all branch off from this central San heritage, you know, San or,  
 693 you know, first people. And this morning again, like it's almost like this information just find  
 694 me like I be watching something random.

695 J: [interjects] And it just comes back to you.

696 E: Ya you know.. And this morning they were saying that there's like 600 people in the whole  
 697 planet left. Like all humanity just bottle-necked there was this chance that we would all be  
 698 eliminated because something huge happened on the planet. And so there's just like 600  
 699 people that all human beings came from. And they trying to find the place that all these  
 700 people come from and they suspect they come, these people from the caves on the  
 701 southern coast of Africa, so they were like *strandlopers* ('beachcombers') basically. I just sat  
 702 there and I thought like, "How do you amplify what this guy said to the world?" You know?  
 703 Like how do you get, 'cause I mean you don't have access to media... And like everything  
 704 else was about the British blah blah the British and the Dutch, and then this

705 J: like one bit....

706 E: You know? I was like FUCK! [said in a whisper] The play will probably haunt me for the  
 707 rest of my life. Like the people that were in it like with Dr Neville Alexander and like to a  
 708 certain extent Dawid Kruiper's spirit, I suppose. Like that's gonna stick with me all the time  
 709 like how do you get this message across when you don't have access to mass media, like  
 710 bulk you know, smses [giggles] like bulk media, like how do you get the message across. So  
 711 the information I'm still reading so 'cause the play is basically something we came up with in  
 712 a short space of time and then expanded. There's so much possibility of it becoming more.  
 713 Um but you know, you gotta, how do they put it? They say when you searching for yourself  
 714 that ultimately your ancestors take a step towards you, when the time is right. And I believe  
 715 that now after this back injury. 'Cause like.. I'll be like, "OK, maybe I'm supposed to do  
 716 this"... so like I run and I do then like I fuck up like something. And then like maybe I'm not  
 717 supposed to do this. You know? And so I think that when the time is right then what is  
 718 necessary to be revealed will be revealed. And I think the same with this information, like it  
 719 finds me occasionally... like I was in bed I like dug up everything they gave and I went  
 720 through like what they gave again. And then, like during the process of going through it  
 721 again, I like find something that's..

722 J: That you didn't necessarily pay attention at first time. OK.

723 E: *Verstaan?* ('Understand?') So ya, I'll probably be eternally grateful to those two White folk  
 724 for organising all of it [laughs]. Them and like whoever else, like I mean, Patric [that is,  
 725 academic, Patric Tariq Mellet] and you know, Neville [that is, academic and activist, Dr  
 726 Neville Alexander]. And um even just people that like, I mean even like what's-er-name like  
 727 Jethro. Jethro's like a couple of days older than me.

728 J: Really?

729 E: Ya.

730 J: Yoh!

- 731 E: [laughs] And he's... You know for me, he's like the elder. Because he's been doing...
- 732 J: He certainly seemed to be in that kind of role...
- 733 E: He's been doing this for a long time. He lives in that squatter camp, outside what's-er-  
 734 name, outside er what's it, Kalkfontein. And um, he's like a reporter from that area. He'll like  
 735 take a picture of like of a ... A shack burnt down the other night and he put the picture up  
 736 and he'll be like er, "Fire where you don't need it" or something like that and like then he'll go  
 737 take a picture the morning of like the remnants or remains of this people's family home. Like  
 738 that's what we need that, you know we need like fuck if there's a camera or someone who  
 739 could tell the news from the human part of what you see on the news. So ya, I mean those  
 740 people, um I think everybody that was in the production. But I think more Jethro. Um Jits is a  
 741 very strange artist, prima-donna kind of character [giggles]. I mean there are times when you  
 742 hang out with him and he's but when it's work it's work. You know? He's very...
- 743 J: [offers] driven?
- 744 E: Ya driven, but also very like an artist. You know? And um you know obviously Kyle is just,  
 745 is so fuckin' focused, he's 100% artist. And I don't see myself in that capacity. You know?  
 746 But it's interesting on many, many fronts like how different people like not only see  
 747 themselves but how they, they position themselves. You know? Just like on an individual  
 748 type a thing. Like Moenier is probably the most complex person. Although he's like a comedy  
 749 character, he's extremely complex. You know, I mean he's got the situation with his family  
 750 and his kids and obviously he's Muslim, then he tells that story of the language and the  
 751 language's history. And um, but as an individual - he's just, he could be, Moenier could be  
 752 like our version of Michael Jackson. He's fuckin' brilliant! He dances, he sings, he creates  
 753 music. But he's from here, so obviously he can't, you know, he can't be, um you just can't be  
 754 like that if you are from South Africa. And especially if you are Coloured in South Africa, you  
 755 can't be... Like his family could live a life of luxury if they were born anywhere else, well not  
 756 anywhere else I suppose, like if they were born the States maybe he could be wealthy. But  
 757 because he's from here he's like..
- 758 J: Constantly in struggle.
- 759 E: Ya. I mean most of the *ouens* ('guys') in the production are like that. They're just paying  
 760 the next bill. You know?
- 761 J: I think that brings me to the next question about you, as an artist or as a performer.  
 762 Separate from the production, did you have goals to promote yourself or was your  
 763 involvement mainly *Afrikaaps*?
- 764 E: Um...Yoh!
- 765 J: I mean you have the benefit of hindsight now to speak about it...
- 766 E: For me, like it's part of the journey that I'm on anyway. And I'm glad that it found me. You  
 767 know? I think as far as like the artistic side of things, it made me realise the level that people  
 768 wish to be on and the level that people need to be on...
- 769 J: In terms of?

770 E: Like people wish to survive and make money from art, but they don't necessarily take the  
 771 time to be business-minded enough and realistic enough to make ends meet. And so I see...  
 772 and it's kind of painful to see all of this amazing talent and then like not... like for it not to like  
 773 reap the rewards that it's supposed to. But like I'm in a position where I'm not taken serious  
 774 because I'm not an artist as such, in their eyes I suppose, as well. But I don't live specifically  
 775 by like the idea of an artist, I think live like more on the idea of creative, like being a creator.  
 776 And when I say that like for me, we're all given the ability to create, like it's a God-given like  
 777 version of God that we internalise but we don't necessarily use, *ne* ('hey'). Because we've  
 778 been blinded by that power, we've been blinded by... um not that power, but the power that  
 779 controls creatives. You know, and I can give you a good example. If like I go to a school and  
 780 there's a whole lot of kids and I ask them to name something that an artist created, they look  
 781 for something like a "no smoking" sign or something that was drawn and after maybe five, six  
 782 minutes someone will put up their hand and say, "The building, Sir". The chair, the table, the  
 783 clothing, everything that we, that's around us has been created, right, and an artist had a  
 784 hand in it. And so someone made us blind to that fact that that has power and economic  
 785 benefit so that they can control that, you know control how much is made from creating. So I  
 786 don't think a lot of artists see that power. Like they'd write a story... they write a song but  
 787 they don't see how they could write a book or they'll write a song but they don't see how it  
 788 can become a movie, they won't see how it can become a T-shirt line or a... you know it  
 789 stops at the creating, the like their view of what they think artists should do. So I don't see  
 790 myself as an artist because it's limiting. You know? Ya. And so for me in like retrospect I  
 791 learnt a lot of things while being on the production.

792 J: And it's not things that you necessarily set out to learn?

793 E: No. It's... Ya, it's it's... like when I got involved I wanted to learn how they put a  
 794 production together. Which I learnt but I was also disappointed 'cause it wasn't something  
 795 like I didn't know. You know? And also the the crew putting it that, ultimately it depends on  
 796 the crew. So like even if, it doesn't matter who you have on the, they might be the most  
 797 brilliant musicians but if they not business savvy they're not gonna assist with the future of it  
 798 being successful 'cause for them it's just another way to make money and so they'll move  
 799 from one to the next to make money but they won't see how this will really continuously  
 800 make them income. So the production didn't have that value of people seeing its potential  
 801 beyond its run and someone funding them to make it real. I mean it could still have been  
 802 running from the time, if the people in the production spend more time just to think about the  
 803 financial potential. And artists also don't have... What's the word? Oh ya this word came up  
 804 this morning. Meetali was like showing off about this word 'cause was one of the things she  
 805 read about. I was like, I was trying to get the word and I was saying like, "You know, you  
 806 have a view or a vision of where you wanna be financially, like if you want to raise  
 807 R1000000.00 that's a thousand R1000.00, not such a lot of fuckin' money. It's like how do  
 808 you make a thousand R1000.00?" And she's like, "Oh, that's called financial literacy". I was  
 809 like, "You fucking show off!"

810 J: That's one of the things that lawyers struggle with financial and numerical literacy.

811 **[1:16:58]**

812 E: You know for me like when I left, the best thing I could have done was leaving teaching.  
 813 Because we are reared in a manner where we are dependent on work, you know like er



814 everything is related to a job, a job. And um when I left I had to... I spent nights, sleepless  
 815 nights just planning like what it'd be, you know, if I wanted to buy a house one day how  
 816 much money would that cost? How'm I gonna raise this money? You know? And then as you  
 817 create, like I created a T-shirt – how many of these T-shirts, and I created this CD, a DVD  
 818 and an event, books ...you know? So how many of these products first of all do I have? So  
 819 you look at it like, OK I've got 50 products right, and then like OK, so each of these 50  
 820 products need to bring in how much in order for me to make like whatever? And then you're  
 821 busy working on what you are passionate about but you're also busy marketing and selling  
 822 what you're busy passionate about because you're obviously knocking your head against the  
 823 status quo who won't put your CD in the shop because like you're not speaking about  
 824 capitalism, you speaking about a more socialistic type of mentality or revolutionary ideas.  
 825 And then that's not the only thing like you like, "Ah fuck them then!" so if it won't work there  
 826 then I'll just go here and sell it directly to the community at a price they can afford. So that  
 827 mathematical, math literacy or financial literacy, for me it's like the mathematics of survival.  
 828 You know like, how can you still be creative and be an artist without having to work for the  
 829 man then your art is secondary. You know? And so I found that not a lot of artists think like  
 830 that. You know? I was the only one out of everybody there that had medical insurance. And I  
 831 was like, "For real? Why don't yous *ouens* ('guys') think about this at some point?" You  
 832 know? So the artist is more about that people get to see like you know them, see them and  
 833 so they'll be like working against the newspaper or the TV or you know, getting a deal, so for  
 834 me it's like I've seen that and I've taken note of that and signed a deal and then be like  
 835 "What?! Ya your fuckin' mind? I get 10 or 15% of my own shit? *Fok* ('Fuck') you! I don't want  
 836 that." You know, whereas guys would like continuously like do that and like get paid every  
 837 six months a royalty. And like how do you... how do you pay bills if this is what you're doing?

838 J: How do you live?!

839 E: Ya. You know? And just.. I was like.. You know, it's probably why Meetali's mom was like,  
 840 "Are you an artist? Oh shit! Oh my God, is she gonna live there with this guy?"

841 [Impersonating his mother-in-law's voice]

842 J: Did she have a mouthful about that?

843 E: She was like...Ya. She did. I was like alright...But then when I broke it down to her, like  
 844 what I

845 J: Like what you do,

846 E: Ya. She was like, "Oh".

847 J: So you're actually a business person?

848 E: Ya so that's what then people realise. That's the thing for me. I don't... The production... I  
 849 see, like with... each of those guys can be millionaires if they sat down and actually like  
 850 thought through what they do, you know, and they not dependent on this... I mean Kyle is  
 851 the only one that really gets to travel and be musical and he, really like, he's an artist [said in  
 852 a deeper voice] like you don't fuck with him.

853 J: He's into his thing.

854 E: Ya. Big time. And that's cool. I respect that. You know... But when like I see someone like  
 855 that or someone like Jits like, "Eh *kyk'ie* ('look here') don't you have like a gig on the side? I  
 856 need to pay rent this month". And I'm like, "Fuck! Really?! Shit you guys had time [inaudible]"  
 857 You know? That's the way I think like... *Fok* ('Fuck'), am I that [if I had that time]?! And like  
 858 for them like a lot of the time they will be saying stuff like, it's um how do you put it, like that it  
 859 challenges their um creative or artistic belief man. Like they won't do certain things, which is  
 860 cool by me but then like if you're not gonna do that, then what else are you gonna do? Like  
 861 what alternative do you have? Because that's just how the system is. The system doesn't  
 862 want you to be better than, you know, or get more than what you're getting. So, what other  
 863 way are you gonna look at trying to buck the system. You know? And so that is like a lot of  
 864 what I learnt from the guys... And like sometimes I'll be like. Like it almost sound a bit  
 865 hopeless but like: People only learn what they want to learn, like you can't force anyone to  
 866 learn anything. Like you can have all the good intentions in the world but like if that's also but  
 867 like if you say so much and all they wanna take is so much [demonstrates with his hands  
 868 spread a distance apart, then reducing it to imply less than the original distance]... You  
 869 know, **[1:21:58]** It's been a hell of a learning curve and also like being part of Afrikaaps gave  
 870 me the opportunity to step away from being in charge, to a certain extent. Which is like what  
 871 I did with Black Noise and Heal the Hood for a long time, and I like I think that was, that  
 872 helped a lot because like someone else was doing the management..

873 J: [interjects] And you just had to focus on what you were writing or experiencing....

874 E: Ja, exactly. And that was... 'cause Black Noise has sort of gone to the back, everybody  
 875 started doing their own thing. And I'm glad to a certain extent but I'm a bit sad because I  
 876 believe that it has a place in the history of Hip Hop in South Africa. And opportunity-wise for  
 877 like the next generation of people to be generating some funds from the name at least, but  
 878 um, I mean, be that as it may it, was good to see who will survive, and in which way.

879 J: [speaking at the same time] from the group?

880 E: Like who was really driven musically. And I think probably the only one is Angelo. And I  
 881 mean, Duane left before, before that. But Angelo, I mean Duane, out of all of the guys, the  
 882 most entrepreneurial was probably Duane. And I mean, I have a good feeling about what  
 883 about what, you know, he's surviving from what he's doing but you know that whole glitz and  
 884 glamour... Angelo on the other hand has a family, he has to make sure that he... so he's  
 885 more grounded in the way he's doing things. So ja, a lot has happened. I've seen a lot.

886 J: OK. Um let's go to maybe, to that... How did your stage name come about – Emile YX? I  
 887 see there are also lots of other names that you have gone by. Like, what was the one,  
 888 Warlock?

889 E: Warlock is a BBoy name. Ya, um the when what's-er-name, when everybody um, was  
 890 into the whole Malcolm X, black consciousness thing so, you know, I was like I don't wanna  
 891 just assume the name X, I need to know why. That's why there's both like a Y, and a  
 892 question mark on the end. At the same time, I mean it's also like the unknown. You know,  
 893 our heritage is... I'm still researching our heritage and like, a lot of things about who we are  
 894 is only complete once you're not around. Like er, you pass away and like the journey's over  
 895 for this level of the game [giggles slightly].

896 J: OK.

897 E: You know and that's where the name really came from. Like that period of time when  
 898 black consciousness like was starting to get back into Hip Hop and so ya, it's been... when I  
 899 look at it, and I see the name, a lot of times it reminds me to keep questioning, you know,  
 900 and even questioning myself, I've been doing a lot of that. I guess questioning self and then  
 901 also questioning like for instance the incident with XXXXX passing that thing on. I um, you  
 902 know I assumed, people were much more liberal than what they actually are. People are  
 903 extremely conservative in Cape Town, you know, and it's funny because like, yes only a  
 904 White guy is gonna be able to make money from being disgusting in Afrikaans because we  
 905 are not ready for it. We will celebrate them doing it, but we won't celebrate us doing it. And  
 906 that's why Die Antwoord and Jack Parow will make money, even from our community  
 907 because it would just be wrong if we're doing that, you know. Ya, that was a rude  
 908 awakening. And then also just like, my passion and my attachment to the BBoying and  
 909 dance community has really died after that. Like I um... [sighs loudly]

910 J: Do you feel like you wanna step away from it for a while?

911 E: Ya, and I actually have. I went to a couple of meetings and I told them. There's two kids  
 912 that I am really invested in, which is the guys from Lavender Hill that I find a way to make, to  
 913 get them a way to make a living from what they do. Um but other than that, I mean I've done  
 914 my bit. As an elder we've sent over like 100 kids to events overseas, like we can't dictate  
 915 what they do with that, like that's their thing, you know. And um... so I feel I've done enough.  
 916 You know, you're like at the point where you're like, "OK" [gestures with hands up]. Now I  
 917 can, I can try and make ways for others, for something else and so, so ya, it's been kinda,  
 918 kinda weird. Because I'm in the position for the first time of thinking, "What now?" [1:26:44].  
 919 And I mean that's why I put out that album, because I put out the word on the net like,  
 920 "Kyk'ie ('look here'), who wants to write a song?" and people were like, "OK, meet me here",  
 921 and I pick them up and we go write a song finish. And so I put out this first compilation but  
 922 it's like, probably, like a collaborative album with different people on it, you know. Um, like  
 923 myself and a bunch of other people. So I'm starting to write a bit more, I'm thinking, I'm busy  
 924 working on a book, two books actually one is a... It's like a... I dunno what to call it but it's a,  
 925 almost like an independent artist survival guide. You know the stuff I was just talking about,  
 926 like, 'cause I feel like it will do a... you know how people are about things that are written,  
 927 like I can do a, I can stage on a million stages to *laities* ('youngsters'), oh fuck they just like  
 928 staring at my hair.

929 J: [audibly laughing in the background]

930 E: You know what I mean, but if there's a book then you know, like maybe they'll read, you  
 931 know how people are about that shit, so like. I'm working on that 'cause also over the years  
 932 you know a lot of kids have written to me like how do you do this, how do you... And I  
 933 answer them, but also saving that in a place, so I'm also gonna take things I've written and  
 934 just answer people, you know? And um, ya that. And then there's also a book about Black  
 935 Noise, next year is I think the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. This is actually 30 years of Hip Hop in South  
 936 Africa.

937 J: [voicing disbelief] Yoh.

938 E: Um so, the first part of the book – I'm calling it *Making A Black Noise* and so the first part  
 939 of the book is about Black Noise, then I'm. The opening of the book is first person, so you

940 get Rozano and how he started and how I started, so everyone's story will be in this opening  
 941 section 'cause was also part of Black Noise at one stage... So you have an actual first  
 942 person history but also we're gonna have a video of the conversations and then I'm  
 943 planning like a big then next year like around maybe, the middle of the year, June/July, um  
 944 ya around the history and like maybe doing a launch of the book. So ya, I...

945 J: [offers] It's morphing into something else?

946 E: Ya you know, it is. And it's OK, it's at the same time I'm also trying to figure out how arts  
 947 can move beyond just a hobby for a lot of people and you know, a lot of creatives in the  
 948 country, this is what the conversation last night and this morning was about [referring to his  
 949 conversation with Meetali, his wife]. Like, I'm very bad at going to sleep early, so my mind I'll  
 950 just lay there for hours and my mind will just be like, "GGGGGG" [gesturing with his hands in  
 951 a shaky motion] and it's because of when I left teaching, like I'd sit up at night and scribble  
 952 on a million pieces of paper like different ideas, and like, all of the things that happened  
 953 *African Battle Cry*, *African Hip Hop Indaba*, documentaries, all of this stuff is like, part of that  
 954 like late night, just jotting down ideas and stuff, and then like putting them, like spending the  
 955 year and saying this two months for that thing and sometimes I don't do it, but, ...

956 J: There's a plan.

957 E: There's a plan. You know, so there isn't like a.. and the thing with growing up in in with my  
 958 mom and my dad are extremely... they're strict but not like *oorlamps* ('overly/bothersome')  
 959 strict, man. They strict like in the sense that, *kyk'ie* ('look here')...'cause like my final year of  
 960 school, was the '85 boycotts. So, I wasn't gonna write..

961 J: [overlaps Emile's "so" and offers] So you made it through school...Really?

962 E: Ya, I wasn't gonna. And then I came home and my mom was like, "If you don't write,  
 963 you're gonna *fokken* ('fucking') work next year!" Cause, she never said "fuck". "Cause you're  
 964 gonna work next year!" And I was like, "What?! For real?" And then um.. "And also you're  
 965 gonna pay rent, we're not gonna send you back.." Cause they were paying for my education.  
 966 And so I was stuck with er where do I go? Basically I was without a house, type a thing. And  
 967 I very reluctantly actually went to write. You know. And I, remarkably, I passed but really  
 968 badly. And obviously, when everybody else went to write, that didn't write, cause at school I  
 969 was like maybe vocal twice about the struggle. Like you know fuck this, so a lot of kids were  
 970 angry with me that I did write. But when I went back to write, all of them had like As and stuff  
 971 [chuckles] so like I'm upset like, "Fuck! This is fucked up!" And went to university.. and when  
 972 I rewrote I was actually able to access a bursary. My thing has always been teaching, I'm not  
 973 really, like the business world and stuff isn't my thing. So um, ya, also I went to a Catholic  
 974 school, so my role model was a teacher. Ya so, they were very strict on like "Look, you gotta  
 975 pay the bills" So that's why I sat up late at night thinking, I can sell papers, you know like,  
 976 pick up scrap. And I did that for a few months, like just to make sure I made rent. And then I  
 977 figured out a way to like, to not have to. Back then teachers got paid really crappy, so to  
 978 make the money I had to

979 J: [giggling] They still get paid crap.

980 E: Na, not as crappy as they did, hey. Like I think they made maybe two grand, or less than  
 981 two grand a month so it worked out, or I worked it out mathematically to like how much I had

982 to earn a day. So everyday I'd be like, [sig]).... sell CDs I have (cause people used to send  
983 me thousands of CDs) to um, 'cause by that time I'd started a magazine *The Juice* so like  
984 people would like send me CDs and what am I gonna do? I can't play all this, so I'd start  
985 selling them, whatever I could to pay the bills. And then like once I was able to pay the bills, I  
986 was like OK [1:33:05] what can I do to pay for the year? And then OK, two years. And then  
987 that was out of the way. And then I started saving for that blue van.

988 J: I remember the blue van.

989 E: So like we just, to think that.. and I thank my folks, even when I grew up, because I mean  
990 I was given this opportunity to go study at a because, it wasn't a hell of a lot of money that  
991 they paid, but it was still like, it wasn't my brother and sister they went to Wynberg High and  
992 Wittebome [pronounced "Witteboeme"] High, my older brother and sister, and so I almost felt  
993 guilty that I'm getting [telephone rings in the background] but I remember getting probably  
994 the same amount of money 'cause they a lot of times I walked to um St Owens, but still I felt  
995 like my folks are spending all this cash on me so we never really like, went shopping. Not  
996 that my folks didn't wanna take us but, I was just like in the sense that I wear all my dad's old  
997 clothes, and old shoes until my foot was bigger than his. So I grew up really on like a  
998 mentality of like, you know, how do you put it, like if they give money for the jol, they just give  
999 money for the jol you know you, got to get there yourself, you know. If your *brasse* ('mates')  
1000 didn't take you, you had to leave here, jump a train [illegally] know if you had to sleep over at  
1001 some bra's place in space odyssey is there in Woodstock Salt River. Even soccer, like my  
1002 dad would drop me, give just enough to get in at the door and a bus ticket back home.  
1003 There's no from buying anything so it's very strict financially. And then I met a lot of *laities*  
1004 ('youngsters') from like Manenberg or like... I was shocked like laybuy the latest Adidas and  
1005 Nikes like "Fuck! For real?!" The first pair of shoes I bought myself was in my second year of  
1006 college.

1007 J: Really?

1008 E: Ya and then 'cause we got a bursary so my mom would like you know take this and buy

1009 J: [overlaps] This is extra?

1010 E: like buy yourself a pair of tackies. And the most expensive thing I ever bought was ....the  
1011 first thing I bought when I left teaching was um, a skateboard that cost R49.95 that was a lot  
1012 of money [laughs] so ya, I think if you grow up with less then you understand value. Whereas  
1013 nowadays I see my sister's kids getting like PlayStation games, I was like [sucks in his  
1014 breath and says loudly] "YOH!"

1015 J: (offers) Like never in your life?

1016 E: (giggling) really?! So ya.

1017 J: OK, so let's go. I think I'm just gonna ask two more questions. [clearing my throat] Um  
1018 firstly, do you feel like the characters you performed in Afrikaaps was different to how you,  
1019 your personality, um and your personal performances, do you feel that there's a difference?

1020 E: Um, not much. 'Cause I think that they made it clear from the start that we're not  
1021 actually... it's not a play. It's a musical production, you know you're not acting. And I was  
1022 very adamant from the start, you know, look I'm not an actor, I don't wanna like give you the



1023 illusion that I can do this shit. They were like, “Nah, just do the songs and do your piece.  
 1024 We’ll tell you if it sounds too actor-ish just...” And um, so it wasn’t a huge stretch. And I  
 1025 actually, I think because I was honest with them from the get-go, they, they were cool with it.  
 1026 I think the play opens up with a piece from Austhumato and um, like that was awkward at  
 1027 first. Like I don’t really do that very often, but it wasn’t foreign. But obviously in English in um,  
 1028 in Sweden. Like we [Black Noise?] were at a theatre for a while and we put on a production.  
 1029 So like we tell the story at the beginning and then we go into song. So it was almost similar  
 1030 to what we did in the play. Um, it’s funny how they chose the character for me to play.  
 1031 Because as one of the first, struggle people in Cape Town, um, after what’s-his-name,  
 1032 Goerie or Koerie the guy that they hijacked. You know that story?

1033 J: No.

1034 E: The first guy that was actually here when the British arrived they had interest in the Cape,  
 1035 and they were here in the 1400s or something way before, what’s-er-name

1036 J: Jan van Riebeeck?

1037 E: Ya, and they came across Goerie on the beach after being here. And they were, he was  
 1038 the um the Goeieshtokwa that’s the name of the tribe he was in charge of. And so they lured  
 1039 him onto the ship, made him drunk and another guy (another herdsman) and they *gooi’d*  
 1040 (‘knocked back’). Took him and hjaacked the one guy, actually went on a hunger strike and he  
 1041 died. And they tried to teach him English so they could find out what was in darkest Africa  
 1042 like further up north. ‘Cause everyone was afraid of this dark *vrag* (‘cargo’) cause also they  
 1043 wanted to get more cattle. ‘Cause by that time there was some sort of trading taking place.  
 1044 And didn’t say *fokol* (‘fuck all’). The only thing he learned was like “Take Goerie home” or  
 1045 “Goerie home now”, “Goerie Saldanha” something like that. And um, they got back here and  
 1046 they said that Goerie was sniping that copper was freely available with all this glittery shit  
 1047 they were swapping the cattle for and when they came back they were like, “*Fok* (‘Fuck’)  
 1048 yous, we don’t want that shit anymore”. And then I think a short while after that, what’s-er-  
 1049 name kicked their asses. Goerie and a group of locals. And so they never came back until  
 1050 1652. When the Portuguese Armada came here and they... 1 March 1510 they kicked their  
 1051 ass on the beach. Ya, so those stories I only find out afterwards ‘cause I first read about  
 1052 Austhumato or Autshumowa and um, but it was interesting reading like, reading up on that  
 1053 shit ‘cause this *ou* (‘guy’) was first on Robben Island, first to escape from Robben Island, like  
 1054 two or three times, like “DAMN!” [with slight American accent] what’s not being told about...  
 1055 you know so the character itself you know, it’s interesting how Catherine them cast the thing  
 1056 ‘cause like our individual characters are very similar to those characters. You know like  
 1057 Doman was very like, like almost to his own detriment, very arrogant, like arrogant but like  
 1058 very proud but and also like, like a younger guy would like, “Revolution!” [imitating with  
 1059 punching the air with his fist] like unplanned revolution. Um, Jits’s character is also like this  
 1060 almost with the piece he does about the eland, where he speaks about the *reënmaker* (‘rain  
 1061 maker’) [1:4101] him being this eland like walking on the long... the way he’s built you know  
 1062 is like very.... [gesturing with his hands in length and fluidity], so I could picture all that shit,  
 1063 and I’m like this shit is deep! [high pitched exclamation and laughs at himself afterwards].  
 1064 And Moenier obviously he fit right into that whole *ghoema* role and Pearl is like this Kratoa,  
 1065 like very like small.... like but energy ball type a person. So each of them I think very or each  
 1066 of us in the production, I think, Catherine thought quite long about who and how she wants  
 1067 to, like the characters to play. But ya, it’s a (chuckles to himself) it was a hell of a.... I’m

- 1068 going, we're actually rehearsing tonight, to do this *Pendoringf..um fees* ('Thorn  
1069 F..um..Festival'). Jack Parow is also there...Huh?
- 1070 J: [overlapping] Are you going to perform the entire... are you performing the entire...
- 1071 E: No, no it's just a, like we're actually gonna cut it up and do it this evening, and do a like,  
1072 small version of it. Like probably, like 8 minutes. But they're paying well, actually. White folk  
1073 got money man, yasis! *Brasse* ('Guys') [inaudible chuckles]
- 1074 J: OK, let's just go.. we've touched on quite a few of my questions but I think this last one is  
1075 just a um, so that I have a final question to close with... What do you think the social  
1076 message was that you were trying to bring across with the production? So, I mean besides  
1077 legalising Afrikaaps, which is one aspect that you spoke about in the play. Do you think it  
1078 means...
- 1079 E: [overlaps] I think it's, like even legalising Afrikaaps is also tied into a sense of self-worth.  
1080 Like you know, I think bottom line of this production is like our sense of value as human  
1081 beings, and you know, it's one thing to say that we're all human beings, but if I know more  
1082 about you than you benefitting from that crap you forcing me to see and know to about you  
1083 also, to create a balance or equality, I need to know as much about you as you know about  
1084 me, and I thinks that's like essentially, in my opinion, what *Afrikaaps* is trying to achieve. It's  
1085 trying to make them realise, you know that we've um, there's this illusion of White  
1086 supremacy, when in actual fact White people are descendant of the first people of [earth],  
1087 you know and that whole twisting of history by White folk of the planet, is, sort of, it's getting  
1088 old and like, they need to realise that there's factual proof that they themselves have funded,  
1089 that's proving, you know, that we're all from the same foundation. And also I think like giving  
1090 back on a broader scale like African um, African worth. You know? 'Cause, if you, or just  
1091 globally, if you go like anywhere in the world then anything African is perceived as [blows air  
1092 out to make a farting sound] uggh! You know, the devil, or whatever, it's not good enough,  
1093 and blah blah blah... and which is bullshit because they all come from here, everything that  
1094 is human is from, like the first humans are from here, everything that humans create thus  
1095 had its roots here, you know? And to, and, and I think that's what disconnects, that's the  
1096 bigger disconnect globally that um, people can't get back to...you know, they can't find their  
1097 rhythm, that's another..., and of course the planet has a rhythm but they're unable to feel  
1098 that, they're unable to connect to it, you know, and then everybody's talk global warming and  
1099 planetary like...you know, sustainable existence...I like nobody even speaks to the Bushmen.  
1100 Like, what the fuck?! They spent... they're the biggest example of like, coexistence and  
1101 harmony with the planet than anyone has, and um, so for me that type of information I think,  
1102 is about like a sense of self-worth and sense of um, like humanity or family, you know, that is  
1103 lacking. Like everybody sees themselves as a group. South Africa is a typical example of  
1104 that.
- 1105 J: [offers] There's no inter-connectedness of people. No immediately ....
- 1106 E: Ya, people make it sound like they all sprung up like a tribe somehow, just miraculously.  
1107 "We shall be Zulu!" Like, "OK, Shaka".
- 1108 J: There's no idea that it was a migration, and it's still a migration of people.



1109 E: And it continues to evolve, but it came from a similar root. People say that “Ya, ya, we’re  
 1110 from the same root.” But then they go back to racist way of looking, or tribal way of looking at  
 1111 things. [Clears his throat] So I’m hoping that the play does that for, and especially like you  
 1112 know, we work in Cape Town and we work here in the Western Cape. And I think especially  
 1113 starting here like hopefully moving nationally, that the play has that power. I mean  
 1114 Catherine’s here at the moment trying to, um, do a launch of the album, and to find a way for  
 1115 the play’s content to like spread out to, throughout South Africa for that matter. So ya, I hope  
 1116 it does that. I hope we regain our self-worth. ‘Cause it’s a *moer* of a (‘massive’) thing. You  
 1117 know what I mean? It’s a *moer* of a (‘massive’) struggle, *ek sê* (‘hey’). You still have people,  
 1118 how do you put...Like I mean, now this thing that Meetali’s doing, on Heritage Day. Like the  
 1119 kids are all writing um about their heroes. Like some of them, like one person chose me as  
 1120 well, I dunno how I fit into that, but anyway, I’ll play along [animated and chuckles]. But, like,  
 1121 they never write the way they speak. You know what I mean? So like ultimately, we’re  
 1122 constantly write so that others can...

1123 J: [offers] understand?

1124 E: Ya, and also feel like, threatened by, what’s this word here? What are you actually saying  
 1125 now? You know? And so when they get to the point where, you can go to a library and pick  
 1126 up a book that has like *gamtaal* front to back...Like “Yoooooh!” [imitating disbelief and pride]  
 1127 Like there’s a book out now, “Aweh”, from Joburg. I mean, their *gamtaal* is different than  
 1128 ours, but it’s still *kwaai* (‘great’) to read that. To read someone writing in that manner. You  
 1129 know? And so, um, then we don’t feel so like...that we have to [write in standard language  
 1130 understood].

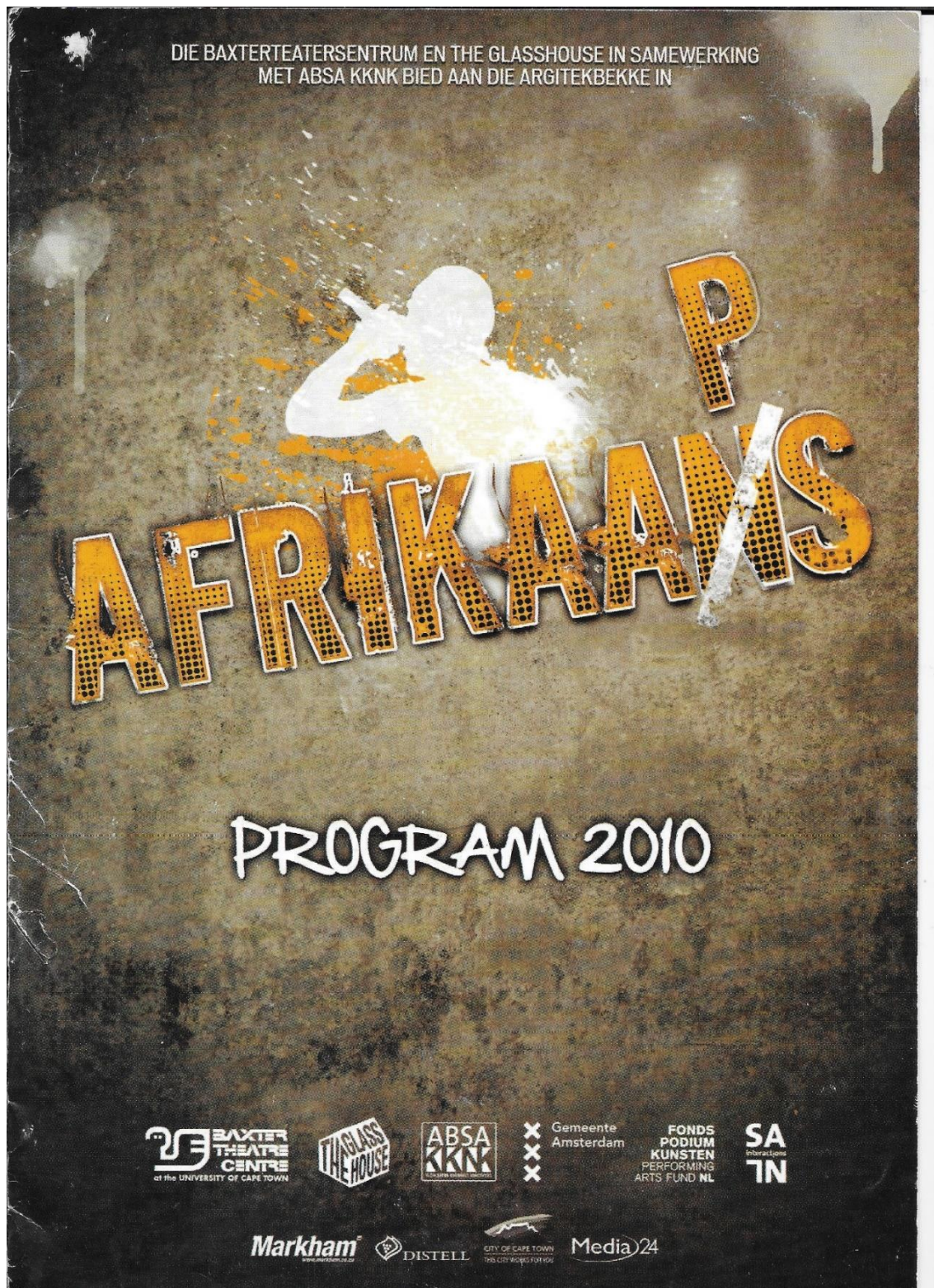
1131 J: Do you feel that the average Kaaps speaker has changed their way of thinking, or that  
 1132 they have been influenced by the production? Do you think it’s, it’s had that reach already  
 1133 or...?

1134 E: [phone rings in background] I dunno, hey? [giggles] No, it’s a long way from there. I think  
 1135 there’s few, like a few have. But that’s also ‘cause we went to find them, like we went to  
 1136 Lavender Hill to do that whole thing [film for the documentary section of the production] and  
 1137 you know, and I think, even now, the guys went to Manenberg, you need to do more of that,  
 1138 man. And then, it’s not easy because it’s obviously not funded ‘cause the *ouens* (‘guys’)  
 1139 can’t get paid, and how do they get out there to do it? But, it has the power to do that. But I  
 1140 don’t, I... still a long way from there. I think there’s still supposed to be, there needs to be  
 1141 another conversation with a run. Like once this runs ends, like for a few months throughout  
 1142 the country, like *Afrikaaps* throughout the country and then like, there could be other  
 1143 conversations about like, why can’t people write like this, why can’t people make TV shows  
 1144 in Afrikaaps, you know? And um...ya, so that it needs to be in the general, in the constant  
 1145 view of people. ‘Cause Cape Town’s, people’s view of Cape Town’s view in Joburg, is very  
 1146 fucked up. You know, like when I go there, then they’re like, “Aweh, *ma se kinnes!*” (‘Hi,  
 1147 mother’s children!’) [said with a deeper voice] I’m like, “*Fok* (‘Fuck’) you! Speak properly”.  
 1148 Like you know, they...their assumption is that all Coloureds are this one version of what they  
 1149 think Coloureds are. Like “Ow, is that your own front teeth?” You know, *kak* (‘shit’) like that.  
 1150 And I’m like ...but that’s the only, like if I just saw Black people in this stupid role, every TV  
 1151 show, then I’d think that of them, you know? And so that whole like gangster *gedagte*  
 1152 (‘mentality’), and like, ya, it’s ...unless we have that platform, it’s not gonna change. You  
 1153 know like a national television show. I’m not talking about that “Coloured TV”. That’s *fokked*

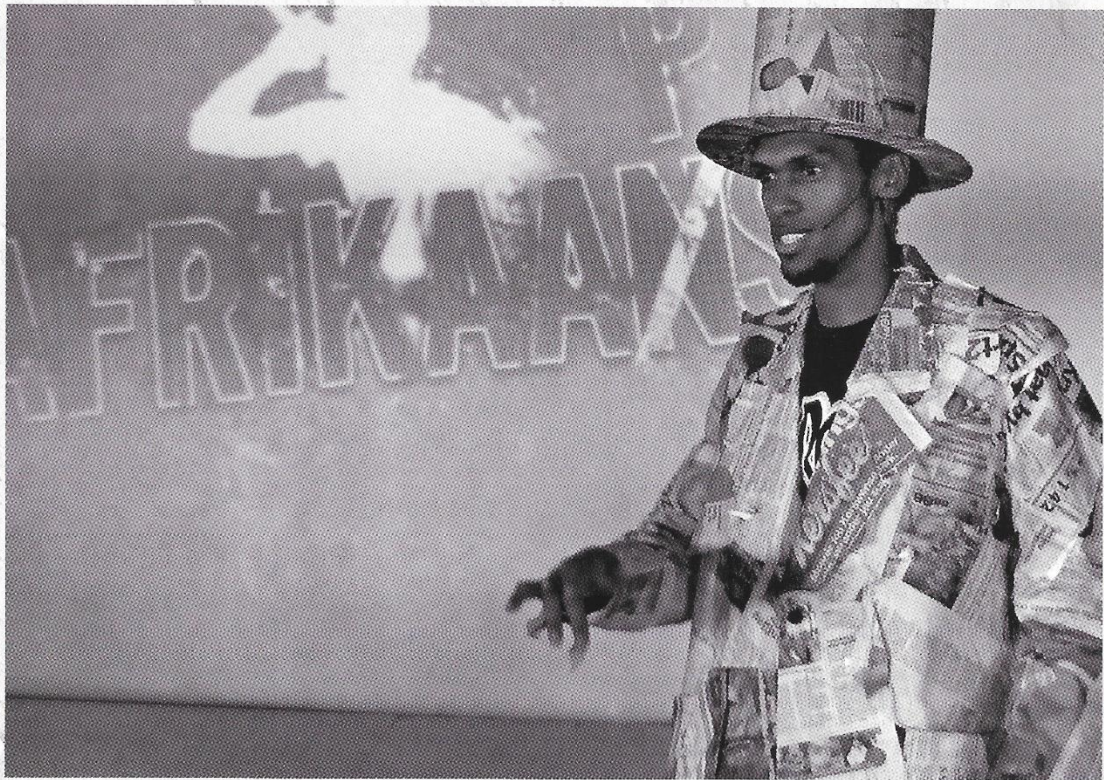
- 1154 ('fucked') up! You know? 'Cause, you know, if there's a show about Coloured people it  
1155 always needs to *fokken* ('fucking') comedy, I I dunno why? But like, if you look at Eastern  
1156 Mosaic and all that shit, it's always more cultural content. And people get a sense of self-  
1157 worth and pride because it's not talking down at them, it's actually celebrating their  
1158 community, so ya, we need one of those, hey? And I'm not a TV producer, so I dunno how  
1159 we're gonna get there. [Laughing] I though the people.... I dunno when, hey
- 1160 J: [interrupting] I mean it's a start. Well, I think that's the good thing about the production is  
1161 that it was the starting point of us to now say, "OK, this is how it's been continuing for a long  
1162 time, now's the point of change." What other... 'Cause change can't just be that one small  
1163 thing. It needs to be lots of them.
- 1164 E: [overlapping] No, no, definitely. And I mean, what's-er-name, Catherine has been trying to  
1165 get a production on KykNet or something. A TV production, so that it has a life outside of just  
1166 the play, you know? And so they're looking at other ways to make it real. We'll see. I hope it  
1167 materialises, you know. 'Cause there's so much potential, um, and potential involvement  
1168 from like the community to like...you know, do a part two. That's more like, "*Fok julle! Die's*  
1169 *hoe it is!* ('Fuck you. This is how it is!') For real" You know what I mean? Ya..
- 1170 J: Have you seen at the Slave Lodge, they have a Afrikaans exhibition. The whole one  
1171 section on the bottom floor is, um, what's-it-called?! Anyway, they're doing like the  
1172 revitalisation of Afrikaans, kinda thing. And I actually wanted to speak to one of the staff and  
1173 find out what spurred that on. Because it's obviously a connection [to the play]... Cause  
1174 they've redone, I dunno when last you're been there.
- 1175 E: Hmmm. I haven't been there for a long time.
- 1176 J: They've redone the entire bottom floor to be a slave memorial. So they've done a  
1177 documentary that plays, and then they have um, a remembrance wall with as many of the  
1178 slave names and people...
- 1179 E: Oh ya, I've seen that. But you say there's a section that's just for Afrikaans?
- 1180 J: Ya. It's mainly just banners. 'Cause it's obviously like a written history of Afrikaaps, which  
1181 plays part of it.
- 1182 E: I'll go check it out when I'm there, actually there's a thing happening in the city on Sunday  
1183 which is a skate, a skate through the city but I'll pop in and go...
- 1184 END OF INTERVIEW



**Appendix B: Afrikaaps Baxter Theater Programme (April 2010)**







FOTOS: ARYAN KAGANOF



DIE BAXTERTEATERSENTRUM EN THE GLASSHOUSE IN SAMEWERKING MET ABSA KKNK BIED AAN DIE ARGITEKBEBKE IN

# AFRIKAAPS

## ROLVERDELING

**Jitsvinger** (Quintin Goliath)  
**Kyle Shepherd**  
**Emile Jansen**  
**Blaq Pearl** (Janine van Rooi)  
**Monox** (Moenier Adams)  
**Shane Cooper**  
**Bliksemstraal** (Charl van der Westhuisen)  
Met bydrae van **Jethro Louw**

## KREATIEWE SPAN

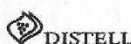
Teks deur	<b>Die Argitekbekke</b>
Regisseur	<b>Catherine Henegan</b>
Musiekregisseur	<b>Kyle Shepherd</b>
Navorser	<b>Aryan Kaganof</b>
Video	<b>Dylan Valley</b>
Beligtingsontwerper	<b>Jantje Geldof</b>
Stelontwerp	<b>Jantje Geldof en</b>
	<b>Catherine Henegan</b>
Videokunsbydrae	<b>Cameron Platter, Michelle Son,</b>
	<b>Stan Engelbrecht, Aryan Kaganof,</b>
	<b>Greer Valley, Catherine Henegan</b>

## PRODUKSIESPAN

Produksiebestuurder	<b>Patrick Curtis</b>
Verhoogbestuurder	<b>Karen Faure</b>
Beligtingsuitvoerder (Baxter)	<b>Patrick Curtis</b>
Klankingenieur	<b>Tony Madikane</b>
Video-operateur	<b>Kinbuc Gass</b>
Stelbouer	<b>Alec Murphy</b>
Beligtingoperateur	<b>Luyanda Somkhence</b>
Verhoogklankoperateur	<b>Pule Setlhako</b>
Rekwisiete en kostuums	<b>Koos Marais</b>
Dekorskilder	<b>Yolandi van Jaarsveldt</b>
Fotografie	<b>Mark Freeborough,</b>
	<b>Andrew Brown, Aryan Kaganof</b>
Plakkaat en programontwerp	<b>Signature Design</b>

**Met spesiale dank aan:** Professor Neville Alexander (PRAESA), Patric Tariq Mellet (Cape Slavery Heritage), Lavender Hill Hoërskool-leerders - Carlo Forbes, Nenicia Mathews, Llewellyn, Russel Meyer, Morne Fortein, Soleen Williams, Reagan Petersen, Juffrou D Williams en B-Boy Mouse.

B-Boys – Angelo, Algernon, Brandon, Valentino, Jerome, Catherine Snel en Henk Esterhuizen (Taalmuseum), Warrick Sony en Murray Anderson (Milestone Studios), Miki Redelinghuys, Lauren Groenewald (Plexus Films), Antoinette Engel, Juan Kindo, Stan Engelbrecht, Craig Matthew, Ardiel Desai, Mziyanda Mancam en Gordon Andries (Choreografiese Adviseurs), Hanlie Gotuws, Mak One, Die Mayibuye Sentrum.





Ek wil net sê, by herhaling (want ek moes dit, na de verskyning van *Kitaar My Kruis*, meermale reeds onder die aandag bring), dat Kaaps nie is wat sekere Engelse mense in Suid-Afrika Capey noem nie, en ook nie wat sekere Afrikaanse mense Gamat-taal noem nie. Kaaps is 'n taal, 'n taal in die sin dat dit die volle lot en noodlot van die mense wat dit praat, dra; die volle lot, hulle volle lewe "met alles wat daarin is"; 'n taal in die sin dat die mense wat dit praat, hul eerste skreeu in die lewe skreeu in hierdie taal, **al die transaksies van hul lewens beklank in hierdie taal, en hul doodsgroet roeg in hierdie taal.**

Kaaps is nie 'n grappigheid of snaaksigheid nie, maar 'n taal. Uit ervaring weet ek hoe van pas dit is om die leser of aanhoorder van hierdie gedigte attent te maak op die feit dat ons hier met 'n taal te doen het.

- *Adam Small (1973, 'n woord vooraf by herdruk, *Kitaar My Kruis*)*

Die Afrikaanse taal het ontstaan omdat die slawe van Afrika-, Malgassiese, Indiese en Indonesiese oorsprong, asook die Khoe, moes leer om Hollands te praat – die taal van die koloniale oppermag en meester – om te oorleef en te werk, en ook omdat hulle met mekaar moes kan kommunikeer en dit onprakties was om hul eie talle tale te gebruik.

Vir baie jare is die swart invloed op die ontwikkeling van Afrikaans miskien, of ten beste erken as 'n sekondêre bydraende faktor. Die geskiedenis en 'n onbevooroordeelde blik op die gebeure wys hoe Afrikaans soos ons dit ken hoofsaaklik ontstaan het as gevolg van swart invloed. Daar was geen rede op aarde vir die Hollanders om hul taal só aan te pas dat dit in 'n hele nuwe taal omvorm het nie. Die behoefte aan kommunikasie oor die grense van Afrika-, Indiese en Indonesiese tonge heen het hierdie verandering teweeg gebring. Die behoefte van die plaaslike inwoners om met die nuwelinge te kommunikeer, het die verandering genoodsaak. Die taal van arbeid en ekonomiese aktiwiteit het Afrikaans gevorm – en die arbeid was meesal die handewerk van slawe en die oorspronklike inwoners.

- **Patric Tariq Mellet**,  
*Erfenisaktivis: Cape Slavery Heritage*

**Afrikaans, die rolprent, is meer as net 'n dokumentêr oor die geskiedenis van Afrikaans in Kaapstad. Dit is 'n teateruitvoering binne-in 'n rolprent.**

Maar dis eintlik ook meer as net dit. Dis 'n tog van 'n klomp kreatiewe individue wie se taak dit is om 'n taal terug te wen en terselfdertyd hul herkoms te ontdek en 'n teateruitvoering saam te stel waarvan die gelyke nog nie in Suid-Afrika gesien is nie. Ek beskou hierdie rolprent en teaterprojek nie as outonome werke nie, maar as deel van 'n groter poging om die Afrikaanse taal terug te wen vir diegene wat dit praat, en, in die woorde van Neville Alexander, om tramakassie dieselfde waarde en erkenning te gee as dankie.

Ek glo as ons almal die kreoolse geskiedenis en die swart/bruin bydrae tot die taal erken, sal dit 'n groot stap vorentoe wees vir gelykheid in ons land. Ons moet Afrikaans erken as deel van die herkoms van alle Suid-Afrikane, en nie net van een rassegroep nie. Saam kan ons Afrikaans die taal van bevryding maak!

- **Dylan Valley**, dokumentêre rolprentmaker, se werk kom voor in die teaterstuk en sal aangebied word as 'n vollengte rolprent.



## THE ORIGINAL SIN

- Professor Neville Alexander

Afrikaans, it has been said<sup>(2)</sup>, came into being as a language because the slaves of Asian and African origin as well as the dispossessed Khoekhoe had to learn Dutch in order to survive and operate in the gradually expanding colony of the DEIC in interaction with their masters and with one another. This is, in my view, the simplest and most lucid general statement about the origins of Afrikaans, one on which all of us who have an interest in the matter, can agree. Had this not been the case, if the Dutch had carried out the systematic extermination of the aboriginal people, and had the good burghers of Holland and Zeeland been interested in mass colonisation, South Africa today would have had a form of Dutch that would have the same relationship to Algemeen Beskaafde Nederlands as American or Australian or, indeed, South African English has to the Queen's English. The debate about whether Afrikaans is a Dutch-based creole or a Dutch dialect is, as I see it, just another reflection of our Philistine preoccupation with "race". For, it is assumed, if it is a creole, the decisive contribution to the development of the language would have to be acknowledged as being that of the non-European segment of its mother tongue speakers and, vice versa, that of its mother tongue speakers of European descent, if it is a dialect of Dutch that has been lightly influenced by contact with languages of African and Asian provenance.

I am reluctant to delve any deeper into this question in the present context; it has been canvassed at length from the different angles of vision of the protagonists at different times during the past 110 years, more or less.

It does seem relevant, however, to suggest to interested specialists to reconsider the whole notion of creolisation in line with the kind of approach that innovative scholars such as Salikoko Mufwene (2008) are foregrounding increasingly. It is a re-reading of the evidence based on the realisation that in fact all languages come into being as "creoles" and that those that have in recent and contemporary scholarship been so named, are – with few, if any, exceptions – characterised by the fact that they were given shape in certain significant ways by non-European peoples, who were invariably slaves or indentured labourers. Taken to its logical conclusion, it would seem, the notion of a "creole language" may well be a racist construct. I am neither competent nor disposed to take the matter further at this stage. However, it seems to me that Afrikaans, Dutch and other scholars ought to take up this challenge and reconsider, and perhaps recast, the entire debate about the origins and development of Afrikaans within a totally different paradigm. Such a joint undertaking would create one of many platforms on and from which Afrikaans could be projected as a language of reconciliation and unification.

(2 Groenewald, cited in Giliomee 2003:4.)

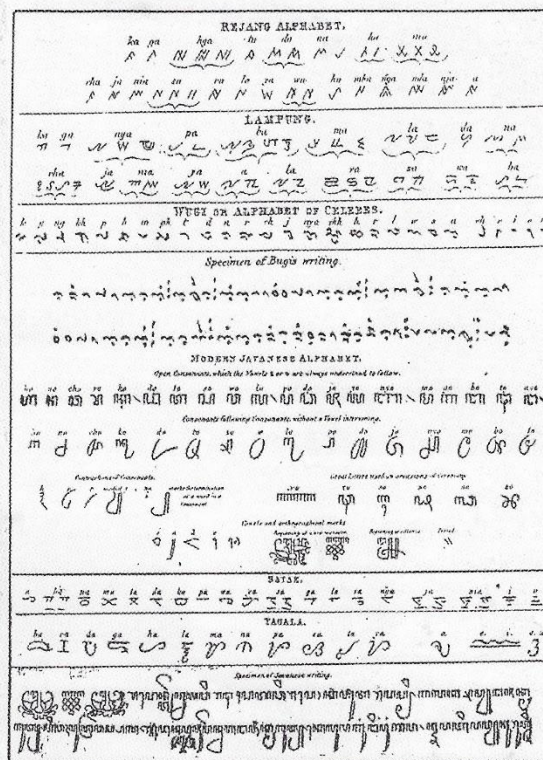


FIGURE 4 : EXAMPLES OF THE WRITING FORMS AND ALPHABETS OF THE MALAY-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES (Crawford, 1929)

THE AFRIKAANS OF THE CAPE MUSLIMS FROM 1815 TO 1815

43

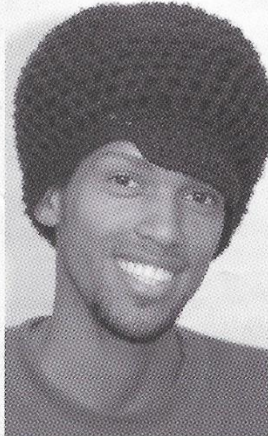
## REGISSEURSNOTA

Die oorspronklike idee vir hierdie produksie was om 'n getroue, gekombineerde en natuurlike projék saam te stel. Om met digters, rappers, rolprentmakers en musikante te werk het my geïnteresseer omdat hulle self die elemente van die musiek en teks bymekaar sal sit.

Terwyl ek vroeg in 2009 met navorsing in Kaapstad begin het, is ek deur twee elemente beïndruk: eerstens die huidige bewustheid van die Afrikaans hip-hop-beweging wat op die Kaapse Vlakte gedurende die laat 80's gebore is en oor die afgelope twee dekades gefloreer het, en tweedens die feit dat daar min bekend is oor die volle geskiedenis van Afrikaans, iets wat geweldige gevolge vir alle moedertaal Afrikaanssprekendes kan hê.

- Catherine Henegan, April 2010





## JITZVINGER

Jitsvinger (Quintin Goliath), een van Suid-Afrika se tradisionele Afrikaanse hip-hop-kunstenaars, het op skool al die musiekbedryf betree. In 2000 het Jitsvinger, wat ook akoestiese en elektriese kitaar speel, sy groot liefde in 'n loopbaan verander. Sy eerste vollengte album, *Skeletsleutel*, wat hy self geskryf het, het in 2006 verskyn. Die Wes-Kaapse Departement van Onderwys het hom in 2005 genooi om 'n kreatiewe skryfkursus te fasiliteer op die historiese Robbeneiland. In daardie jaar het hy by die *Spier Poetry Exchange* opgetree saam met die bekroonde digter en skrywer Antjie Krog en digters Kgafela Magododi en Comrade Fatso (Zimbabwe). Ook in 2005 is hy Taiwan toe om op te tree by die *Migrant Music Festival*. Hy het getoer en saamgewerk met die amptelike Khoisan-prysanger Jethro Louw (Tanneman !Xam). Die twee het tradisionele kulturele musiek opgevoer voor 'n gehoor van meer as 2000 mense in Tainan en Taipei. Later die jaar het Jitsvinger saam met Golda Schultz gewerk aan 'n program wat uitgesaai is op SABC1 as deel van hul *Head Wrap*-kunsprogram. Hy het sy musiek afgewissel met toneelspeel en verskeie rolle in die hip-hop-musiekblyspel *Hip Hop Connected* (geregisseer deur die musikant en kunstenaar Teba) gespeel. In 2008 is hy Switserland toe as deel van die interkontinentale *Rogue State of Mind*-projek. In Maart 2009 het *Young In Prison*, 'n jeugprogram, hom genader om musiekwerkwinkels in die Pollsmoor-gevangenis aan te bied vir jong oortreders. Maak Dit Aan, 'n dokumentêr oor Jitsvinger wat deur Nadine Cloete geregisseer is, is by die *Encounters*-filmfees vertoon. Ná die fees is hulle vir sewe weke Amsterdam toe, waar Jitsvinger 'n spesiale gas was by die jaarlikse *Africa Picture*-filmfees. In Holland het hy 'n paar opnames gedoen en opgetree saam met 'n hele klomp plaaslike kunstenaars. Teen die einde van 2009 het die span van Joe Barber hom genader om die musiek te skryf vir die produksie om hul tiende jaar te vier: *Joe Barber: School Cuts*.

## KYLE SHEPHERD

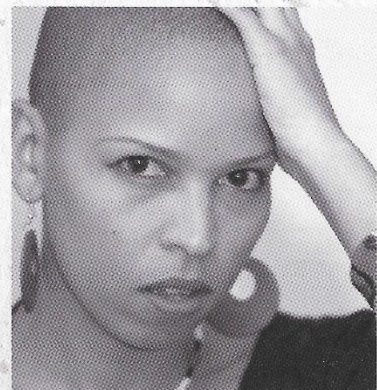
Kyle Shepherd is in 1987 in Kaapstad gebore. Hy word beskou as een van Suid-Afrika se mees talentvolle jazz-pianiste, -komponiste en -orkesleiers. Hy het musiekloopbaan begin toe hy vyf jaar oud is met klassieke viool. Maar toe hy 15 was, min of meer toe hy besef het sy groot liefde in jazz en improvisasie, het hy begin klavier speel, en die klavier is sedertdien sy hoofinstrument. Hy speel ook saksofoon en hy sing. Shepherd het reeds opgetree by konserte en feeste in Suid-Afrika en in die buiteland saam met van die land se beste musikante, waaronder Zim Ngqawana, Louis Moholo, McCoy Mrubata, Hilton Schilder, Errol Dyers en Robbie Jansen. Sy musicale invloede kom van die tradisionele ritmes, melodieë en harmonieë van Kaapstad, en van jazz-musiek. Sy debuutalbum, *fine ART*, het in 2009 verskyn, en in 2010 is hy benoem vir twee Suid-Afrikaanse Musiektoekennings (SAMA's).



## BLAQ PEARL

Black Pearl (Janine van Rooy) is 'n talentvolle skrywer met 'n graad in sielkunde en taalkunde en word beskryf as 'n sosiale aktivis en jeugontwikkelingswerker. Sy het haar eerste stuk geskryf toe sy twaalf was, net om haarself uit te druk en om van 'n bietjie van haar frustrasies ontslae te raak. Dié stuk, *Life's No Metaphor*, het ontwikkel in 'n liedjie en sy het begin om koorgedeeltes te doen vir haar broer, wyle Devious (1977-2004), wat ook haar grootste invloed was. Haar musiek bevat sosiale inhoud en sake wat kontroversieel en taboe is en handel oor bemagtiging en werklike ervarings en motiverings. Sy beskryf haar genre as 'n mengsel van Afrika, soul, jazz, hip-hop en R&B. Sy werk tans in die Pollsmoor-gevangenis as die hoofassiliteerder vir die organisasie *Young In Prison*, wat vaardighede oordra deur middel van musiek en kuns. Blaq Pearl het saam met haar groep opgetree by Jazzathon en was in Swede om by twee jeugfeeste op te tree. Sy is op die oomblik in die studio om haar album af te handel wat later vanjaar uitgereik word.

[www.blaqpearl.co.za](http://www.blaqpearl.co.za); [www.myspace.com/Blaqpearl1](http://www.myspace.com/Blaqpearl1)



## EMILE JANSEN

Emile Jansen was die wenner van die heel eerste break dancing-kompetisie wat in 1983 by Club Route 66 in Mitchell's Plain gehou is. Tien jaar later, in 1993, het *Black Noise* se debuutalbum, *Pumping Loosa Da Juice*, die lig gesien. Nog *Black Noise*-albums het deur die loop van die 90's verskyn, en die groep het die eer gehad om op te tree vir die ANC se verkiesingsveldtog en by pres. Nelson Mandela se inhuldiging. *Black Noise* het Suid-Afrika verteenwoordig by Universal "Zulu" Hip Hop Nation in New York by die 20ste herdenking van Hip Hop Nation in 1994. Emile het sy eerste boek, *What is Hip Hop?*, in 1996 gepubliseer en saam met *Black Noise* in Swede getoer om vir mense hip-hop te leer en interaksie tussen plaaslike inwoners en immigrante aan te moedig om rassegeweld te voorkom. Hulle was die eerste hip-hoppers wat deel was van die "Artists in Residence"-program op Robbeneiland, waaruit die liedjie *Nobody Knows* in 1997 gebore is. Emile se eerste solo-album, *Who Am I*, is in 2003 vrygestel. Hy het ses volumes van *Heal the Hood Hip Hop 1994 - 2004* vrygestel en *My Hip Hop is African and Proud* in 2005 geskryf, gepubliseer en versprei. In dieselfde jaar het hy *Blunt Magazine* se aktivis van die jaar-toekening gewen.





## MOENIER ADAMS

Moenier is in Mitchell's Plain gebore en getoë. Sy kinderdae was gevul met musiek en dit was onvermydelik dat hy 'n vermaaklikheidskunstenaar sou word. Hy het begin dans by laerskoolfunksies en was 'n voorloper vir die Klopse vandat hy sewe was totdat hy twaalf jaar oud was. Hy het eers op 15 begin sing en het sy eie harmoniegroepie begin, wat opgetree het by skoolfunksies. Hy het ook by die seunsgroep Inspiration aangesluit en was later ook die voorsanger in 'n komiese liedjie vir 'n Klopsegroep. Hy het daarna sy eie komiese liedjies geskryf, afgerig en gesing, en het daarmee vyf eerste pryse verower. Sy eerste instrument was 'n bongo-trom en daarna het hy himself leer klavierbrod speel. Hy het al hoe meer betrokke geraak by Maleierkore en begin kitaar en banjo speel. Hy het sy sololoopbaan begin in 2008 as Monox en het in dieselfde jaar sy eie vertoning aangebied in die Joseph Stone in Athlone.



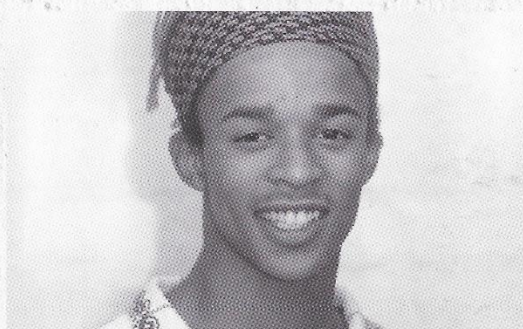
## SHANE COOPER

Shane is bekend vir sy werk as lid van Reality Radio (voorheen Restless Natives), Closet Snare, The Kyle Shepherd Group, Zim Ngqawana's Zimology Quartet en Darkroom Collective. Hy is ook bekend vir sy werk saam met Fly Paper Jet, Ernestine Deane (van Moodphase Sive), Plan Be, en die Bokani Dyer Group. Hy het sy elektroniese musiek uitgegee onder die naam Card On Spikes. As stigterslid van die bekroonde klankontwerpmaatskappy Aperture Audio (sustermaatskappy van Hello Computer) doen hy klankontwerp vir webwerwe en aanlynmedia. Shane het al opgetree regoor Suid-Afrika en in Indië, Amerika, België, Switserland, Finland, Swede, Frankryk, Nigerië, Ghana en Kenia.

[www.babu.co.za](http://www.babu.co.za); [www.cardonspikes.com](http://www.cardonspikes.com)

## JETHRO LOUW

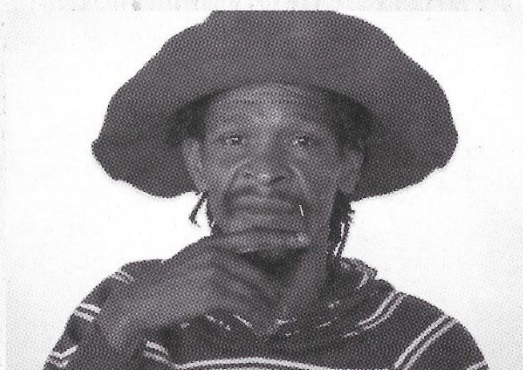
Die Plakkerskamp-digter, storieverteller, beeldhouer, skepper van musiekinstrumente, musiekimproviseerder, Khoisan-aktivis, toergids, pa, seun, man tussen die manne en vroue, speel en doen werkwinkels as deel van die Khoi Khonnexion-groep, en ook as solis. Tanneman skryf en tree op in Afrikaans en Engels saam met lede van die Khoi Khollective, 'n groep "bewuste" digters en musikante wat saamwerk onder die vaandel van hul Khoisan-erfenis en hul pogings om die verwronge voorstellings van die Hottentot-mense en hul kultuur te herskryf. Jethro het opgetree by The Wondergigs (2002), Urban Voices (2003 en '07), Grahamstown Word Fest (1997, 1998, 1999 en 2005), Winners Project (Fabrica) Italië (2006), Riddu – Riddu Fest, Noorweë (2006), Taiwan Migration Music Fest (2007, '09 en '11) en die Absa KKNK: GAROB (2008 en '09).



## BLIKSEMSTRAAL

Lirieskrywer, metafisiese digter, kunstenaar, B.Boy, break dancer en regisseur van B.Boy. Dit is Charl in 'n neutedop. Hy het vir die Brasse Vannie Kaap en die Handbreakturn Crew en ook as 'n solokunstenaar opgetree. Sy album Resession sal eersdaags op die rake wees. Hy het gedurende die South African Heritage Week (in Vietnam) opgetree, asook by die Afrika Circus (VK, Duitsland, België en Oostenryk) en gedurende die French World Cup in 2008 (Frankryk). Hy het reeds verskeie plaaslike optredes agter die blad. Hoogtepunte sluit in die African Hip Hop Indaba, Tri-Continental Hip Hop Fest 2006 (met Jonzi d London and Wordsworth, USA), African Battle Dry, Artscape Dancecape 2006, KKNK (Brasse Vannie Kaap), Lorie Awards 2006. Artikels oor Charl het in Mshana Marazine en Hype Mag, sowel as Die Burger Metro verskyn.

<http://beatbangaz.co.za>; <http://www.facultyofhiphop.org.za>







## CATHERINE HENEGAN Regisseur

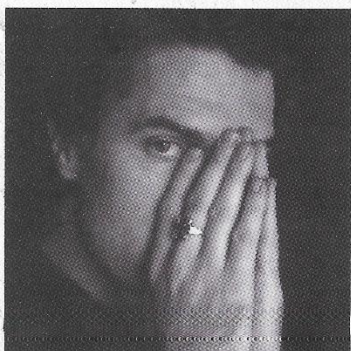
Dié boorling van Johannesburg se werk wentel om opvoering en video. Nadat sy aan die Wits Dramaskool gegradueer het, het Catherine Henegan in die tweede helfte van die 1990's gewerk as ontwerper en teaterskepper vir talle produksies in die Markteater en die Markteater Laboratorium in Johannesburg. Talle van dié projekte was in samewerking met Lara Foot as stelontwerper. Hul laaste spanpoging was die hoogaangeskrewe 'Ways of Dying', gebaseer op Zakes Mda se roman, in 1999.

In 2001 het Catherine gegradueer aan DasArts (Die Amsterdam Skool vir Gevorderde Navorsing in Teaterstudie). Sy het haar in 2000 in Amsterdam gevestig. In 2003 het sy The Glasshouse gestig saam met die skrywer en regisseur Kees Roorda. Hulle het by Das Arts ontmoet en is geïnspireer om verder saam te werk aan 'n interdisiplinêre werkswyse om teater, opvoerings en installasies te skep binne en buite die tradisionele teater ruimte. Hul mees onlangse produksie was die hoogaangeskrewe 'Waterkou', 'n digitale produksie.

As videokunstenaar en scenografis het sy werke geskep vir musiekkonserte, visuele kunsuitstallings en teaterproduksies, waaronder 'The Offering' in samewerking met Ritsaert ten Cate van Mickery Theatre-faam, wat ook die stigter was van die DasArts-skool.

In 2005 en 2006 het Henegan haar debuut gemaak as regisseur met 'n media-uitvoering getiteld 'The Shooting Gallery'. Aryan Kaganof het die hoofrol vertolk en James Webb het die klankontwerp gedoen. Die stuk is opgevoer by die Grahamstadse Nasionale Kunstefees en in die Markteater in Johannesburg in 2006.

Catherine werk op die oomblik aan haar eerste dokumentêre rolprent, 'Uncle Louis and the Copperbelt Cowboys'. Dit volg 'n persoonlike reis om die lewe van haar oom te ontbloot wat vir 50 jaar lank flieks in Zimbabwe en Zambië gemaak het.



## ARYAN KAGANOF Navorser

Aryan Kaganof is 'n projek van die AFRICAN NOISE FOUNDATION. Ná net 'n paar weke op universiteit het hy opgeskop en hy het nie 'n bestuurslisensie nie. Hy het nog nooit in sy lewe gewerk as dramaturg nie, en is heeltemal te veel betaal vir hierdie takie (veral inaggenome dat hy nie eens Afrikaans kan praat nie, wat nog te sê van Afrikaaps!). [www.kagablog.com](http://www.kagablog.com)



## DYLAN VALLEY Videomaker

Dylan Valley is 'n rolprentmaker wat spesialiseer in dokumentêre en rondspeel met verskillende kreatiewe kunsvorme. Hy beskou film as 'n handige stuk gereedschap om sosiale verandering mee te bring. Hy het in die Kaap grootgeword, eers in Kuilsrivier en later Durbanville. In 2006 het hy sy honneursgraad in filmteorie en – praktyk aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad verwerf, waar hy 'Lost Prophets' gemaak het – 'n rolprent oor die pioniers van Suid-Afrikaanse hip-hop, Prophets of da City. Sedertdien het hy gewerk vir Plexus Films as regisseur van 'Headwrap', 'n realiteitsreeks oor kuns en kultuur vir SABC1, en ook vryskutwerk gedoen aan verskeie ander produksies as regisseur en kamera-operateur. In 2009 is Dylan genoem as een van The Mail and Guardian se "300 Young South Africans You Have to Take to Lunch". Hy dien tans in die raad van die Dokumentêre Rolprentmakersvereniging.



## JANTJE GELDOLF Beligtingsontwerper

Jantje Geldof (Londen, 1963) het sy loopbaan in beligting begin toe hy net 15 jaar oud was. Hy het sy eerste ontwerp gedoen in 1984 vir 'The Glass Menagerie' deur Tennessee Williams. Hy doen ontwerp vir enigiets van groot musiekkonserte tot intieme teaterstukke. In 2000 het hy en twee kollegas Geldof, Verhaart & Den Ottolander (GVDO) gestig. In dié Amsterdamse maatskappy het Jantje sy werk uitgebrei na TV en ontwerpprojekte in New York En Goteburg. Van die hoogste punte van Jantje se teaterseisoen is die konsert 'Chaos' saam met Wende Sniijders, stel- en beligtingontwerp vir skerp skertser Najib Amhail en beligtingontwerp vir die teatergroep NUHR.

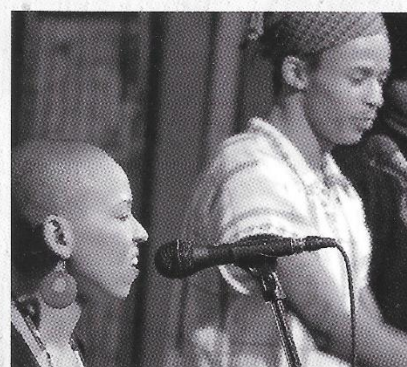




## THE GLASSHOUSE

The Glasshouse is an international theatre collective founded by theatre makers Kees Roorda (NL) and Catherine Henegan (SA). They met each other at DasArts (Advanced Studies in the Performing Arts) in Amsterdam and decided to continue working with one another to create performances in an interdisciplinary manner. They work with actors, musicians, filmmakers, composers, visual artists, poets and rappers. This happens both inside the walls of traditional theatres as well as on site specific locations. They create theatre that deals with contemporary stories of our times. These stories don't emerge from an easy tidy world, and it is precisely in this complex layering that they are inspired to create. Wilma Kuite (NL) is the third core member of the Glasshouse collective, she is our business manager and is responsible for producing The Glasshouse.

The Glasshouse's most recent production, *Waterkou*, a digital play about a couple who have a relationship online, was critically acclaimed in the Dutch press and played to full houses in the Netherlands in 2009. In 2010 The Glasshouse is proud to present *Afrikaaps*, directed by Catherine Henegan in Cape Town, South Africa. In July Kees Roorda directs, *Eclips*, a site specific musical performance which will premiere in the Netherlands at the Oerol Festival. The Glasshouse is funded by the City of Amsterdam and the Performing Arts Fund of the Netherlands (FPK). Please feel free to visit our website to read more about previous Glasshouse productions: [www.theglasshouse.nu/actueel](http://www.theglasshouse.nu/actueel)







#### BAXTER-TEATERSENTRUM MISSIEVERKLARING

Die Baxter-Teatersentrum van die Universiteit van Kaapstad streef daarna om die beste van Suid-Afrikaanse uitvoerende kunste aan te bied. Ons doelwit is om die verskillende kulture van Suid-Afrika op ons verhoë, in ons voorportale en galerye te weerspieël. Ons fokus op 'n lewendige multi-kulturele sentrum wat 'n interaktiewe verhouding tussen ons plaaslike en universitêre gemeenskappe bevorder. Ons streef ook daarna om die jongste eietydse verhoogwerke uit Suid-Afrika en elders aan te bied, asook meesterstukke uit die internasionale repertorium.

#### BESKERMHERE

Prof. Njabulo Ndebele, adv. Dumisa Ntsebeza, me. Janet Suzman

#### BAXTERRAAD

Mnr. Dixie Strong (Voorsitter), me. Rhoda Kadalie (Ondervoorsitter), mnr. Hugh Amoore, mnr. Hlumelo Biko, mnr. Graeme Bloch, prof. Paula Ensor, me. Lara Foot, mnr. David Kramer, dr. Max Price, me. Anet Pienaar-Vosloo, mnr. David Sonnenberg, mnr. Rashid Toefy en dr. Richard van der Ross

#### UITVOERENDE KOMITEE

Mnr. Dixie Strong (Voorsitter), me. Rhoda Kadalie (Ondervoorsitter), mnr. Hugh Amoore, prof. Paula Ensor, me. Lara Foot, mnr. Hardy Maritz, dr. Richard van der Ross

#### BAXTER-TEATERSENTRUM

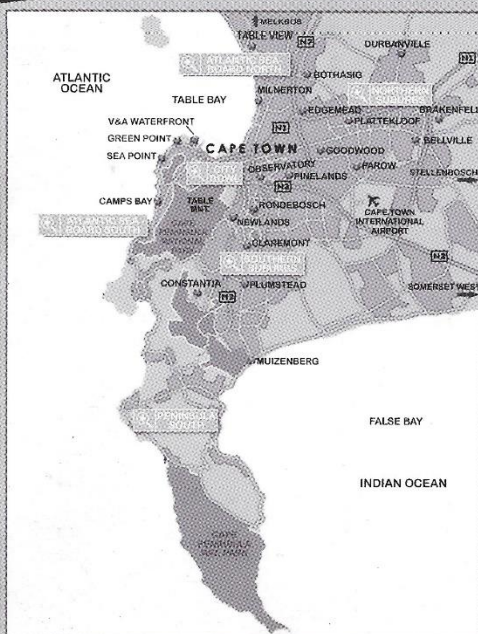
**Direkteur en Uitvoerende Hoof:** Lara Foot, **Administratiewe Direkteur:** Stephen Jaffe, **Ikhwezifees Direkteur:** Itumeleng Wa-Lehulere, **Mede-vervaardiger & Beplanningsbestuurder:** Nicolette Moses, **Bemarkingsbestuurder:** Fahiem Stellenboom, **Produksie Bestuurder:** Patrick Curtis, **Fondsinsameling en Veltogbestuurder:** Johann Davis, **Remix-dansgeselskap:** Kunsdirekteur: Malcom Black **Administrateur:** Linda Louw, **Voorportaalbestuurders:** Justin Christen, Maeve Slemmon, **Onderhoud Bestuurder:** Ryno de Jager, **Rekenmeester:** Louis Cizlak, **PA vir die Direkteur:** Lana Paries, **Tegniese Personeel:** Richard Kearns, Sydney Jansen, Alec Murphy, Sonnyboy Setlhako, Luyanda Somkhence, **Bemarking-koördineerder:** Vanessa Campbell, **Bemarkingassistente:** Nokuzola Godla, Phila Nkuzo, **Rekeningassistent:** Maureen Campbell, Glennis die Mink, Gudrun Müller, **Kostuum en Rekwisiete:** Koos Marais, **Ontvangspersoneel:** Lizette Paulsen, Lyle Wilson, Lamishka Langley, Fiona Heilbron, Carmel Kearns, Rochelle Killian, **Kostuumassistent:** Miriam Matai, **Blokbeprekkings, Liefdadigheid en Verkope:** Sharon Alexander, Carmen Kearns, **Onderhoudassistent:** Zaahier Coetzee, Sean LT Ncekana, **Baxter Restaurant:** Bernard Lyon, Jessica Lyon, **Argiewe:** Maxine Arvan

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